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# AFRICA



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## POLICY IN AFRICA<sup>1</sup>

*Statement by the Director of the Africa Bureau  
made on behalf of the Executive Committee*

### Nationalism can be led but not driven

THE growth of nationalism amongst the people of Africa and the Middle East confronts Britain with urgent questions of policy and principle in her dealings with her Colonies, Trusts and Protectorates. Requirements of such a policy are that it should not bring Britain into head-on collision with moderate nationalist leadership, relying on the use of *force majeure* as was recently the case in East Africa, Central Africa, and elsewhere. (In Uganda the situation was only saved from becoming possibly another Kenya by the willingness of the local authorities to work together with local moderate leadership and with constitutional experts to devise new procedures after an act of *force majeure* had been committed by deporting the Kabaka.)

Experience in the past decade has shewn that nationalism can prove itself a powerful force for the liberation of peoples and for the release of their enthusiasm for the development of their own resources.

It is necessary to devise a policy which will avoid driving nationalist movements to look for help towards Communism whether in their struggle for independence or in the building up of their own economic development or military defence.

There are dangers during or after the process of achieving self-government of "over-running" self-determination to the point of fragmentation where it becomes retrogressive, with splinter or minority groups tending to break away and the dominant groups in the new state resorting to undemocratic practices to enforce their rule and seeking to restrict the rights of minorities and opposition parties. This tendency can be seen in certain Arab states and South American republics and there is this danger in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

Conditions must rather be prepared which will leave the new state open to healthy influences from "outside" including its "parents" or erstwhile guardians, and with good neighbourly relations with the whole region.

Another danger that has to be faced is that of corruption and maladministration due to lack of experience and the still immature growth of indigenous standards of civic duty and sense of national responsibility over strong family, tribal or local ties.

One of the requirements of Britain's policy should therefore be to attempt to provide for the period leading up to and immediately following the achievement of independence. Foundations should be laid for economic and social development with

the necessary technical aids which will bring healthy influences to bear from "outside" and also allow for some degree of growth not totally subordinate to or dependent on local pressures in a situation where the party political system is still young and inexperienced or lacking self-imposed restraints.

This implies the abandonment of communalism (a basic principle of colonial policy since the Morley-Minto reforms and the communal award in India) as incompatible with a policy of genuinely seeking harmonious growth in self-government towards independence. Substituted for it should be local policies and constitutions which emphasize the economic, social and political interests which people of all races and religions have in common in the development and security of their own country and region. It should be the declared general aim of policy to abolish, however gradually, all forms of loaded franchise and political power based upon religious or racial privilege.

Nationalism has been likened by Mr. Arthur Gaitskell to the Nile in flood. Its waters can be harnessed for the well-being of mankind, or they can be very destructive.

A policy of active sympathy with nationalism is required rather than a policy of active opposition and obstruction which generates fear and eventually hysteria and violence. Appropriate means must be devised of assisting nationalism to control itself and to impose its own limitations which may be likened in function to a dam rather than to an obstacle to development. Arbitrarily imposed obstacles produce fear, resentment and excesses: the dam generates power as well as controlling flood waters for the protection and benefit of the people.

The argument of this paper is that the most logical alternatives to extreme nationalism, which tends to over-run the bounds of reason and reality in the modern world, are regionalism based upon understanding by the people of their own desires and the actual resources and needs of all the people of their whole region: and internationalism whereby international law and procedures for assistance are resorted to as being above considerations of race, religion or privilege.

Antidotes or correctives to extreme nationalism cannot well be administered by a former Administering Power under circumstances in which a young country achieves its adulthood. This is evident from the history and constitutional growth of the Commonwealth and is clear today in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and the Sudan, as well as from the situation in other countries where the problem of national development is not complicated by the presence of an exceptionally privileged white settler community anxious to preserve or extend its political ascendancy over others, and a mediating rôle still has to be performed by Britain.

### White Supremacy and "Multi-Racialism"

The need for a revision of policies which place communal

<sup>1</sup>Extra copies of the Policy Statement can be obtained from the Africa Bureau.

representation before all other forms of representation is even more evident as a result of the position that has arisen in South, Central and East Africa where dominant white settler groups are continuously trying to bring the centre of gravity of political power within their own borders and more under their own control, and to diminish the influence of the British connexion and the possibilities of interference by the Parliament of the U.K. In Central Africa, where despite African protests Federation was imposed with promises to Britain and Africans of a policy of partnership, Lord Malvern has now defined partnership in the Federal Parliament (March 19, 1956). "Partnership," he said, "concedes that in the distant future the Africans may earn the right to become equal partners which means they would have a half share in the partnership, never more than that." Such a conception of the state would in fact be an oligarchy rather than a democracy as the West conceives it, and would rely inevitably upon force rather than consent since Africans are offered no prospect either of achieving self-government themselves or through their full membership of a truly democratic political system and economy.

The tendency of constitutional development in East and Central Africa has hitherto been directed towards increasing the already overloaded representation of the white communities at the expense of Britain's own power to protect the weak and to mediate between the races. British power exercised through local officials in legislative councils has often proved ineffective in protecting or promoting the interests of those not adequately represented themselves, and has not been able to resist the slow process of encroachment by the more powerful local settler communities.

Another requirement of British policy therefore is that it should be able to convince the White settler communities in Africa of the futility of their isolationism from world opinion and especially the Western world and the danger to themselves and their own future of *apartheid*. *Apartheid* is inflaming African opinion in Central Africa after disillusionment with the promises of partnership. In Nyasaland African leaders are already demanding secession from the Federation. The policy of the Kenya settlers is reviving fears in Uganda of a federation in East Africa. Meanwhile Britain is expected to continue advancing loans for economic development, carrying the costs of military operations when local political systems prove unworkable, and bearing the full burden of the destructive economic and political consequences in Africa and the world of these military operations. The lesson of the Mau Mau for Britain is surely that Britain herself must adopt a bolder and more imaginative initiative in relation to the "multi-racial" areas and that this will be in the long-term interests of all races.

## **Regional Planning and International Aid as Alternatives to Excessive Nationalism**

This does not mean a return to the old conceptions of Imperialism or Paramount Power though Britain's power to mediate in multi-racial areas at this critical time must not be diminished. Rather must emphasis be on the importance of overcoming religious, racial and even political boundaries by positive joint effort rather than on fortifying them by negative legislation. Regional planning of specific projects in suitable geographical areas would point the way towards the creation of a more co-operative society and would effect a more co-

ordinated functioning of the government departments concerned, various public and private finance corporations and the local services. The development of Africa can hardly take place without such co-ordination between individual enterprise, international financing and government planning. Correspondingly Britain's own external policies should be directed much more towards increasing the scope and prestige of international law and recognizing the importance of international procedures for the supply of technical assistance and capital for undertaking the economic and social development of non-self-governing territories and newly self-governing states.

In view of the danger of Communist aid subverting democracy in the newly formed states it may be that some large over-all "Colombo" plan for Africa will have to be worked out. But at present the people of many African territories are being encouraged to expect large-scale economic and social developments without any over-all picture being formed of Britain's actual commitments and the financial and technical resources that could be available for carrying them out or how these could be secured. The recommendations of the Royal Commission on East Africa, for example, imply a vast expenditure of money on services, technical training and demonstration projects, as well as capital investment. Other territories from Sierra Leone to Swaziland are crying out for technical aid and capital investment. The difficulties experienced in the financing of some schemes in Africa emphasize the fact that nationalism is not enough to secure international confidence in terms of hard cash or credit.

## **Regional Development Corporations**

Consideration should be given to the establishment of Regional Development Authorities, perhaps better described as Corporations, where human, geographical, economic and political factors indicate the need of them. In West Africa development authorities for the Volta river basin and adjacent area of Togoland might inspire more confidence if they were established by the Government in consultation with other agencies concerned, on a basis that would make them not entirely subservient to the uncertainties of party politics during the early stages of the growth of democracy there. In West African territories regional planning would help to counteract the fissiparous political tendencies in their rapid growth towards self-government. Similarly in Kenya as in the other East and Central African territories there is need both of free enterprise and a new conception of land use, to be planned with the understanding and consent of African people. These are urgent prerequisites of a better social order. Regional planning instruments are required in East Africa to initiate such joint economic and social enterprises as those suggested in Chapter 26 of the Commission's report.

In Uganda the Governor's proposals for direct franchise on the common roll by 1961 may serve the purpose of drawing together the different communities ultimately in a representative form of central government. Some theoretical and administrative considerations favour such a policy but it has been accompanied by an emphatic rejection of "self-government by 1961" and it may set up considerable opposition among those who, rightly or wrongly, still fear an East African Federation may be imposed on them. Possibly it would be preferable to proceed by the method of building up towards representative government through already existing native institutions such as the Lukiko,

one of the oldest African Parliaments in existence, and by stimulating regional development to include other tribes as well as the Baganda and to aim ultimately at a more federal form of Government for Uganda as a whole. Of vital importance in overcoming the evils of communalism or excessive local nationalism are the methods which are used to bring about co-operation and the form of unification to be aimed at.

## Conference and Study Groups on Regional Development Needed

It is suggested that a preliminary conference should be held and study groups organized for the purpose of:—

(a) A general stocktaking in Africa, surveying the over-all requirements from Britain and elsewhere during the next five or ten-year period and for the purpose of considering priorities in the allocation of available assistance. Without such obviously necessary steps being taken promptly following the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on Land in East Africa, such drastic recommendations serve only to sow suspicion and fear of change without any convincing demonstration of its advantages.

(b) Consideration at such a conference should also be given to a revision of the policy of the United Kingdom towards the United Nations, especially that part of it which relates to the processes of international law and international accountability, technical and financial aid through the World Bank and T.A.B., and towards the Point 4 Programme of the U.S.

(c) Another subject of some importance is the need for a re-organization of the Colonial Service. The education of recruits should be designed to produce a more flexible and liberal approach to the problems of Africa and the Middle East. Recruitment to the service should take account of the qualifications needed to establish friendly and co-operative relations with people who may have become over-sensitive where societies have been made subservient or sometimes arrogant by long experience of autocratic rule. Consideration should be given to the possibility of forming a more unified home and colonial civil service, widening the field of recruitment and facilitating the transfer of civil and colonial service personnel. This would help to attract men and women with the most suitable qualifications and to diminish the serious loss of confidence and security manifest amongst those working in countries approaching independence.

## Revision of Policy at the United Nations

During the past ten years Britain's attitude at the United Nations has been somewhat grudging and petty towards the concept of international accountability for non-self-governing territories. She has always insisted on the barest possible minimum in the interpretation of Article 73. She has always strongly resented any attempt to discuss any matters verging over the stipulated limit of "social, economic and educational" such e.g. as the existence of colour bars in industry, education or land use. Pettiness was even carried to the point of refusing to mention in that Committee that there was an African elected minister of education appointed in the Gold Coast, and the important steps taken towards self-government in other fields. The extension of the right of petition to inhabitants both of non-self-governing territories and the inhabitants of sovereign states (subject to certain safeguards against abuse) would help to fill the lacuna which exists in the U.N. Charter for the pro-

tection of minority groups and individuals from discrimination in the matter of race, sex, language or religion.

This niggling attitude towards international accountability as "interference", coupled with the support given to South African isolationism in the lobbies and the debates at the U.N., has resulted in Britain becoming identified with the most reactionary forces of colonialism and has made it appear as though Britain were being dragged along struggling and protesting in the wake of human progress supposedly led by a combination of states where slavery or near slavery exists in the Middle East and South America and supported by the Communist bloc.

Britain needs a policy at the United Nations less inhibited by fear of Communism in the sphere of trusteeship and non-self-governing territories. The answer of democracy to the challenge of Communism cannot be based upon fear but on the strengthening of those democratic procedures whereby forms of arrogant nationalism and racialism can be counter-weighted by internationalism, by a more effectual system of international law and accountability. There is nothing to be feared from Communism or from South African racialism and *apartheid* if democratic processes can be boldly pursued and shewn to succeed. There is real danger from both of them if these processes are not made more effectual and imaginative. The querulous and obstructive tactics of the Colonial Powers have, however, resulted in over emphasis on the negative and critical aspects of U.N. procedures for international accountability and the neglect of the more positive possibilities of medical, technical and other forms of social service.

Britain should now take the lead in a more positive direction at the U.N., aimed at a complete change of emphasis in the rôle of the U.N. with regard to under-developed countries and the importance of a regional approach where necessary in order to preclude destructive Communist tactics. The U.N. has now an overwhelming majority of small erstwhile dependent countries for whose leadership there will be increasing competition between East, West and Bandung. They will be amenable to a positive lead in tackling world problems of poverty, malnutrition and under-development whether economically or politically. Britain need have no self-consciousness about her rôle as midwife of liberty in human history. She should welcome the searchlight of responsible world opinion on her own constitutional experiments and on the various ways in which the stresses and strains experienced in the newly emerging democracies are being met and overcome. In the Fourth Committee and the Trusteeship Council Britain can at the same time challenge some of her critics to show similar developments in the field of Human Rights. She should press for procedures to implement the Covenant of Human Rights which would offer some protection to those dispossessed or discriminated against in sovereign states, similar to the rights enjoyed by the inhabitants of Trust territories. The political assistance of the U.N. should also be sought by Britain. This would also help to increase the sense of responsibility of the U.N. and moderate criticisms there.

A more business-like arrangement should be made with the U.S. in the working out of its Point 4 programme and more use should be made by Britain herself in her dependent territories of these advantages; and also of such international agencies as U.N. E.S.C.O., the World Bank and other specialized agencies of the U.N. Her own contributions to these agencies should be increased.

## The International Court of Justice

It should be a cardinal principle of Britain's policy to enhance the rôle and prestige of the International Court of Justice, both in its judicial and advisory capacities and in its function of arbitration which should be more fully developed. An honourable way out of one of our own present dilemmas would be to submit to its advisory opinion or arbitration on the question of the Haud area of Somaliland even if this involves an admission of error on our part in the past. The long-standing scandal of the South West African Mandate could be settled by Britain taking a bold initiative with the other Principal Allied and Associated Powers, namely America and France, who entrusted the territory to South Africa, and seeking the compulsory jurisdiction or arbitration of the International Court of Justice. Failing this, resort to sanctions is provided for by U.N. procedures.

## South Africa and the Protectorates

The urgency of the question of the future development of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, the three too long neglected High Commission Territories in Southern Africa, is emphasized by the publicly expressed intention of Mr. Strijdom to take advantage of his visit to England for the Prime Ministers' Conference in June to take up with the British Government the possibility of a form of joint administration of the Protectorates. Rather than reiterate a purely negative reply a policy should be worked out which would enable Britain to exercise the maximum influence on South Africa to change her policies towards the African people, the United Nations, and the Commonwealth, and Britain should use the maximum diplomatic skill in carrying out this policy.

Britain's rôle in Africa and the world would be severely damaged by any appeasement of South African nationalism on the question of the High Commission Territories. Britain could however encourage those in South Africa who oppose the arrogant nationalism of their Government and place a political weapon in the hands of those who would prefer a more co-operative relationship with the international community and the Commonwealth, if she would speed up the formation of Legislative Councils in these territories and devise means of assistance for them. Regional development authorities could also be established in the Protectorates to co-ordinate the functions of various government departments with various technical and financial agencies interested in Africa, and possibly the specialized agencies of the U.N. such as the Children's Emergency Fund, the World Health Organization, U.N.E.S.C.O. and T.A.B. The practical interest of countries like Canada and the United States, for which S.A. has shown respect, should be actively sought in setting up the above as part of a policy consciously conceived to retrieve a situation which has long been threatening to become very damaging to the Western world and democracy. The statement on Africa by Mr. George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State in Washington on April 21, 1956 is a reliable indication that American support would be forthcoming for a bold and realistic programme for progress in Africa and that America is looking for leadership to Britain "whose record in Asia is an earnest of its sincerity" in Africa.

## South African Apartheid Challenges Democracy in Africa

South Africa as the leading industrial state in Africa claims

to set the pace and pattern for future economic, social and political development in answer to the problems of a multi-racial society. This challenge cannot be evaded or postponed particularly by Britain which has so far taken the lead in the matter of constitutional reform and the extension of political rights in underdeveloped territories. The Commonwealth also cannot ignore the challenge with Ceylon for instance claiming that British support of South Africa makes the position of Asians untenable in a system based on such an "archaic" philosophy.

Policy towards South Africa should now be considered at different levels, and as it concerns governmental and non-governmental organizations; at the level of religion, diplomacy and politics, international law and at the economic and social level. Hitherto opposition to South African *apartheid* has been mainly negative, often taking the form of moral indignation and political denunciation at the United Nations and elsewhere. There are proposals for sanctions in the cultural and sporting spheres and for the organization of an economic boycott, and exclusion from the Commonwealth.

It is suggested, however, that the approaches to the problem of *apartheid* at all these levels should not be confined to the negative. While rejecting the theory and resisting the evil consequences that flow from *apartheid*, a policy from "the outside" must be devised which will help to repair its physical and moral damage and to promote any positive elements whatever that can be found in the plans being suggested to the South African Government, viz. the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission. The Tomlinson report should be studied with the South African Government's White Paper on its implementation and a detailed programme drawn up whereby it would be possible for international financial agencies—the U.N. and particularly Britain and America, to assist in carrying out those parts of the recommendations which would have the effect of improving the economic and social condition of the African people in the Reserves and strengthening their economic position in the whole South African economy. Such a programme would also have the effect of demonstrating to the voters of South Africa the advantages of a more co-operative attitude on the part of South Africa towards the Commonwealth and the U.N.

## Positive and Negative Policies towards South Africa

South Africa urgently needs capital from the West for the normal development of her industries in the so-called "White" areas. She needs a further £104 millions in order to carry out the Tomlinson Commission recommendations for the development of the Reserves. The response to this challenge therefore should not be simply doctrinal, or prompted by the notion that all assistance given to South Africa can only foster the illusion of apartheid and strengthen the position of the South African Government. A carefully worked out programme from the "outside" could not only stimulate new growth and enterprise within South Africa but could at the same time bring to bear many healthy influences and positive sanctions which would weaken the illusions of apartheid and reveal its fallacies to the people within South Africa, while increasing the economic power of the Africans. Total *apartheid* on the evidence of the Commission itself is impossible. A partial application of it subject to international pressures could prove a stronger and more

constructive answer to the challenge than a wholly negative opposition.

The two forms of action that have been suggested, the negative and positive, are not necessarily contradictory but complementary. The offer of technical and financial aid by governmental and international agencies subject to conditions will serve to encourage any positive elements in their programme. The negative sanctions by voluntary organizations in the social and economic sphere will bring home to South Africa the dangerous folly for Africa of the policy they are pursuing and its hypocrisy, since without international aid the Tomlinson Commission's Recommendations will hardly be applied in any way that would drastically affect the present industrial and agricultural economy based upon cheap migrant labour. The Government's proposals to set up industries along the fringes of the Reserves but on territory owned by Whites is really an extension of the migrant labour system. There is a visible rift developing between the schools of partial and total *apartheid*.

This of course does not imply any weakening of resistance to the political repression of non-Europeans which is worsening every day. But such a policy as that briefly outlined above, coupled with the strong position occupied by Britain in the Protectorates, offers perhaps more prospect of effectual international intervention than an entirely negative approach. A campaign on the question of the Protectorates should set itself against any proposal for incorporation or joint administration which would in any way weaken Britain's capacity to influence the situation as a whole and should insist on retention by Britain of political and administrative protecting power over the interests of the African inhabitants until they have developed their own fully representative Legislative Councils. The implications of this policy should be fully explained to the U.S.A. and Canada and their full co-operation sought in carrying it out and putting it forward at the U.N. in place of the policy of unmixed denunciation which U.N. has pursued for ten years without success.

It is suggested that voluntary organizations should take the initiative in social, cultural and other spheres to establish those common standards which our civilization has set itself in the U.N. Charter and Declaration of Human Rights, e.g. in the Olympic Games it could be clearly laid down that no team may exclude men or women from its membership, who may be known to hold athletic records in their country, simply on account of religion or race. Similarly international music festivals and other competitions should not admit participation from any country which makes talent ineligible for competition on racial or religious grounds.

The programme of *apartheid* in Africa challenges democracy to put its house in order, to make its instruments and processes more efficient and better adapted to the human problems of Africa which daily become more urgent and which are only in part attributable to two devastating wars in our generation.

\* \* \* \* \*

"We have the task of giving form and character to a new period in the world's history", says Lewis Mumford. This is true of Africa. We must pursue our purpose with more courage and imagination than that used by the various fanaticisms at present seeking to utilize nationalism in order to destroy hard-won liberties.

## WEST AFRICA The Gold Coast

### Independence Date to be Set

A FIRM date for granting the Gold Coast independence within the Commonwealth will be given by Her Majesty's Government, if a reasonable majority for such a step is obtained in the local Legislature after a general election. This promise was given in a statement made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons on May 11. Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that "since the present constitution was introduced there had arisen a dispute about the form of constitution which the Gold Coast should have when it achieved independence within the Commonwealth. Efforts had been made to bring about a reconciliation between the major parties, but they had so far met with no success.

"I have been in close touch with the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast on these matters," Mr. Lennox-Boyd continued. "It is the considered view of his Government that the time has now come for the Gold Coast to assume full responsibility within the Commonwealth for its own affairs. I have made my view clear to him that because of the failure to resolve the constitutional dispute, we can only achieve our common aim of the early independence of that country within the Commonwealth in one way, and in one way alone: that is, to demonstrate to the world that the peoples of the Gold Coast have had a full and free opportunity to consider their constitution and to express their views on it in a general election.

"I have told Dr. Nkrumah that if a general election is held Her Majesty's Government will be ready to accept a motion calling for independence within the Commonwealth passed by a reasonable majority in a newly elected Legislature, and then to declare a firm date for this purpose.

"Full membership of the Commonwealth is, of course, a different question, and is a matter for consultation between all existing members of the Commonwealth."

Commenting editorially, *The Times* (May 12, 1956) said:

"That there would be a popular majority for independence in the abstract is scarcely in doubt. The problem of the Gold Coast, however, is to unite the parties in support of a specific constitution for Ghana. The plan of the Bourne report for a scheme of regional devolution only partly satisfied the opposition parties, who protested through their principal spokesman, Dr. Busia, that it did not meet the fears of the northern territories of domination by the south, or the national sentiments of Ashanti, or solve the problem of Togoland. Rather than let a constitution be founded upon it by Dr. Nkrumah's Government, they called for a constituent assembly. They were granted instead an inter-party conference at Achimota; but some northern districts and the Ashanti Asanteman Council declined the invitation to be represented. Those who did attend reached a fair measure of agreement; and since then the Asanteman Council has given a modified blessing to the project of independence, provided that the question of the constitution is settled first. Now Togoland, at a plebiscite, has voted strongly in favour of integration with the Gold Coast (which is, of course, subject to the consent of the United Nations); and in the circumstances this must be regarded as a vote in favour of

the early independence to which the Gold Coast Government aspires."

Referring to Mr. Lennox-Boyd's references with regard to full membership of the Commonwealth *The Times* said: "This is an important pronouncement, for hitherto the definition of Commonwealth membership has been in effect negative: a member is a state of the Commonwealth which is subject to no control by another member. It is obviously reasonable that the old members be consulted before they extend the benefits of their association to newcomers; and the relationship they choose to adopt with the Gold Coast will set a precedent."

## Constitutional Proposals for Independence

The Gold Coast Government's proposals to meet the opposition demands are put forward in the Report of the Conference<sup>1</sup> held in Accra which ended on March 16.<sup>2</sup>

The Government envisaged the removal of the Governor's reserve powers, an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament to confer full powers of law-making on the Gold Coast Legislature, and the appointment of a Governor-General who will act in all matters on the advice of the Gold Coast Government. The Government proposed that on the attainment of independent sovereignty, their country should become a member state of the Commonwealth, with the name "Ghana".

Regional Assemblies to afford an effective link between Regions and the Central Government and to "remove any danger of excessive centralization" were recommended. The Report recommended the retention of the Eastern and Western Regions of the Colony, but suggested that the Accra Region should be merged with the Eastern Region, subject to certain provisos. The case for a separate Regional Assembly for the Brong area should receive "very careful consideration".

A House of Chiefs should be constituted in each Region where an Assembly was established. If special consideration were given to the need for a Regional Assembly for the Brong area, despite the difficulties of varying language and custom in the Northern Territories, the Government should endeavour to maintain the aim of establishing a House of Chiefs in that Region.

Regional Assemblies would provide for the formation and ventilation of local opinion on matters of national importance, and ensure that people were consulted before important legislation closely affecting regional interests was introduced. The essential qualification for membership of the Assembly should be residence in the Region.

Transfer of some degree of power in stated subjects should be laid down as obligatory in the Constitution. Thereafter, additional powers should be transferred in accordance with the capacity of each Regional Assembly. All powers and functions under the Local Government Ordinance—except any reserved to the Centre in each Regional Assembly Ordinance—should be constitutionally transferred to the Regions.

It should be obligatory under the Constitution for the Government to transfer some degree of responsibility under: Agricultural, Animal Health and Forestry; Education; Communications; Medical and Health services; Works; Town and Country Planning; Housing. Further transfers of responsibilities should be made if practicable. Subject to certain safeguards,

<sup>1</sup>Government Printer, Accra.

<sup>2</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

Regional Assemblies should be empowered to make their own regulations and bye-laws.

The Government states that it is not possible to give undertakings regarding North or South Togoland until after the result of the plebiscite has been considered.

## Development Progress Report<sup>1</sup>

The Gold Coast Government recently published a report on the first four years of their Development Plan started in 1951. Originally it was intended to complete the plan within ten years, but in 1952 this period was reduced to five years. Substantial completion is now expected by June 1957, when a second development plan is due to commence.

The introduction to the Government report stated that the primary purpose of the 1951 plan was to improve and extend Government services. In 1951 the agricultural services had many gaps in their equipment and were insufficient to support the technical development of agriculture on a national scale. In the main towns, water supplies and electricity were in danger of being overtaken by the rapid growth of population. Large areas of the country were out of reach of modern communications and the existing roads and railways were in need of extensive reconstruction. In the field of social services, primary education reached much less than half the children of school age. The facilities for secondary and higher education were not sufficient for the output of the primary schools. Technical education was also inadequate. Preventive medicine had only just started to lift the burden of endemic disease which restricted social progress in many parts of the country. Similar limitations applied to most of the other Government services.

Reviewing progress made during the years 1951–55 it is reported that capital expenditure amounted to £50,906,000.

*Agriculture* absorbed nearly £2,100,000. A chain of agricultural stations had been set up throughout the country for extension work and the demonstration of better methods of husbandry. The report states that every part of the country has a station examining its own special problems, and farmers throughout the Gold Coast have access to the special knowledge and experience of experts.

*Communications:* 830 miles of road had been built or reconstructed and the mileage of tarred road maintained by the Public Works Department had increased from 940 to 1,820 despite serious difficulties in staff recruiting. New railway lines had been laid and more than £1,300,000 spent on new locomotives—diesel as well as steam—and rolling stock.

*Education* had come under the Accelerated Development plan for Education which was passed by the House of Assembly in August 1951. The aim had been to provide basic primary education for every child of school age and to accelerate the Africanization of public life by the provision of secondary and higher educational facilities.

Between 1951 and 1955 the numbers of primary schools had increased from 2,533 to 3,394, and the number of children from 235,000 to 490,000. There were 18 more secondary schools, and the number of pupils had increased by 5,011. The increase in the number of trained teachers was 2,500. Total enrolment in technical institutions had risen almost threefold from 606 to 1,756 in 1955.

The difficulty of providing schools and teachers in the

<sup>1</sup>Government Printer, Accra, 5s. 6d.

Northern Territories was still causing the Government great concern. Only some 19,000 out of 151,000 children aged 6 to 12 attended primary school in March, 1955. The problems of education in the Northern Territories, says the Report, can only be solved as teachers from the Northern Territories themselves became available.

There were 940 students in residence at the University College and 750 students at the Kumasi College of Technology at the end of the Report period.

**Health:** In reporting expenditure of more than £3 million on health services, the Report says there is urgent need for curative measures (the provision of hospitals and equipment) as well as preventive—the suppression of endemic diseases and the promotion of higher standards of personal health. The main hospital project had been the new Central Hospital at Kumasi, where the out-patients department was opened early in 1955.

### Appointment of New Chief Justice

Sir Kobina Arku Korsah, C.B.E. has been appointed Chief Justice to succeed the late Sir Mark Wilson, who died recently. Sir Kobina is the first African to receive this appointment.

## British Togoland

### Plebiscite in Favour of Integration

THE results of the voting in the plebiscite held to ascertain whether the inhabitants wished to join an independent Gold Coast or remain under British Trusteeship showed that 58 per cent of those who voted favoured integration with the Gold Coast. *The Times* (May 12, 1956) commented that this percentage favouring integration was "less than many observers had thought likely when the first results came in. But it gives a clear majority on the total number of votes cast. The United Nations will no doubt consider not only the total number of votes cast but also the distribution, and integration with an independent Gold Coast is not yet a certainty".

## Nigeria

### A United Front for Constitutional Conference

Dr. NNAMDI AZIKIWE, Premier of Eastern Nigeria,<sup>1</sup> told the Eastern House of Assembly that his Government would do everything possible to summon a meeting of all political leaders in Nigeria so that the country might be able to present a united front at the forthcoming Constitutional Conference. He declared that if the question of the appointment of a Federal Prime Minister arose, it would not create any difficulty with him, as he was willing to serve under either the Sardauna of Sokoto, Chief Awolowo or Dr. E. M. L. Endeley. The freedom of the country was his one great concern.

Dr. Azikiwe promised that efforts would be made to contact leaders of different shades of political opinion in the Regions and leaders of political parties, not only in the north and west, but also in the Southern Cameroons, to smooth the path of the Conference. He realized it would be difficult to agree on all issues, but there was no question that all political parties in the country believed in self-government. In his opinion it was un-

necessary to go to London to draft the new constitution. He would prefer a Constituent Assembly of the whole nation to determine the nature of the constitution which the people of Nigeria want. (*News from Nigeria*, March 21, 1956.)

### General Election in the West

Announcing the dissolution of the Western House of Assembly on May 2, Chief Obafemi Awolowo said that a General Election would be held on May 26.

The Premier also issued a statement replying to charges made by Dr. Azikiwe, that he planned the secession of the Western Region from the Federation. Mr. Awolowo claimed that self-government of the Western, or any other, Region is not open to debate in the forthcoming constitutional conference Her Majesty's Government having given a solemn undertaking, with the concurrence of the Nigerian delegates, to grant full self-government in 1956 to those Regions which so desired it, in respect of all matters within the competence of the Regional Government, with a proviso ensuring that the Regional Government would not act to impede or prejudice the exercise by the Federal Government of the functions assigned to it. (*The Times*, May 3, 1956.)

### Achievements of the Economic Mission

Chief Obafemi Awolowo, who recently led the Economic Mission from the Western Region<sup>1</sup> which went to the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Japan, Germany and Italy, told the Press in Ibadan that they had had pleasant and successful meetings with, among others, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with leading bankers in the United States, with the Minister of Health in Canada and with the Vice Chancellor of the Federal German Republic.

Referring to their objective of securing technical and financial aid for their Region, Chief Awolowo said that the Directors of the International Co-operation Administration (an offshoot of the American Point Four Programme) had decided to send a team of nine agricultural specialists to the Region before the end of this year. The I.C.A. would pay their salaries, while the Western Region would be responsible for their housing and transport expenses. The I.C.A. was also prepared to give further technical assistance in regard to agricultural extension methods, community development, technical education and rural health.

Chief Awolowo added that it was hoped to recruit a number of agricultural specialists through the Food and Agricultural Organization. The German and Italian Governments had promised substantial technical assistance in various fields including the supply of equipment to technical colleges. The Canadian Government was also prepared to give technical assistance through an agency similar to the Colombo Plan. In all these cases it would be necessary to initiate certain steps in Nigeria itself in order to attract the help offered.

It would now be possible to remedy the lack of a proper geological survey to determine the mineral resources of the whole of Nigeria by using Canadian aerial geophysical survey methods, and German experts in ground geological surveying. "Above all," Chief Awolowo said, "the Japanese Government has promised to send a Mission to this Region consisting of economists and industrial experts who will advise us on the spot on certain aspects of our economic problems . . . The

<sup>1</sup>And leader of the N.C.N.C.

U.S. Department of Commerce is now planning to send a team for an investment survey of Nigeria, similar to that which they did for the Central African Federation . . .

"Matches, Iron and Steel, and Textile Factories will be commenced in this Region within the next twelve months. If the detailed plans which are now being worked out prove satisfactory, factories for the manufacture of bicycle tyres and rubber-soled footwear may be commenced within the same period. Limestone deposits in the Region are being investigated . . . we have made contact for the erection of a clinker grinding factory for the production of cement . . .

"The climax to the achievements of the Mission was the final settlement of the terms of an agreement for the establishment in Ibadan of a plastics extruding factory for the manufacture of plastic water pipes, utensils and other plastic goods."

## The British Cameroons

### Union Between North and South

THE difficulties in the way of union between the Northern and Southern Cameroons was the main topic discussed in the Trusteeship Council when the British Administered Cameroons came under review. France, China, Belgium and New Zealand praised the progress that had been made and endorsed the report of the Visiting Mission which toured the Territory last year. Mr. Robert Bargues (France) said that there was no denying the fact that the Administrative Union of the Territory with Nigeria was of advantage to the Cameroons, while Mr. Shih-Shun (China) urged that all possible steps should be taken to bring about closer relations between North and South. Mr. Robert Scheyven (Belgium) felt that Western influence was helping to bring the populations together.

The differences between the Northern and Southern Cameroons were described by Brigadier E. J. Gibbons, Britain's Special Representative, who pointed out that there was a definite cleavage in outlook. The Administration had tried to encourage joint work in a practical manner but "the inhabitants of the North feel that the inhabitants of the Southern part of the Territory are complete foreigners with whom they have no desire to mix, and the people of the South feel rather the same, except that they also have the feeling that they are more westernized and more advanced, and might be able to colonize the North."

"The whole situation" he added "is one which is going to be under review by the elected representatives of the people themselves and none of us here can foretell what their decisions are going to be. The step which would leave the door widest open to an ultimate connexion between the inhabitants of the Northern part and the Southern part would be if they both continued to belong to the Federation of Nigeria."

### Southern Cameroons to Demand Full Regional Status

Dr. E. M. L. Endeley, the Parliamentary Leader of the Kamerun National Congress, stated that his party is agreed on requesting at the next Constitutional Conference full Regional Status for the Southern Cameroons within the Federation of Nigeria. Dr. Endeley said he was convinced that this was the wish of the people. The requests of his Party, if granted, would

also be a big step towards putting into effect their aim of ultimate self-government.

### Model Cocoa Plantation

Negotiations have recently been concluded between Cadbury's and the Southern Cameroons' Government for the lease by Cadbury's of 1,200 acres. The firm has already begun the clearing of the site which it proposes to develop into a model cocoa plantation. All the capital for this project will be provided by the firm. (*News from Nigeria.*)

## The French Cameroons

### Discussions in the Trusteeship Council

AMONG the questions raised in the United Nations Trusteeship Council affecting the French Cameroons were polygamy, housing and education. The Visiting Mission's report stated that a law under which officials were entitled to allowances for each wife and child, obviously encouraged polygamy. Mr. Robert Bargues (France) said that the purpose behind the law was to provide the official with an adequate family allowance. Polygamy, he continued, was a practice common in West Africa. He pointed out that the sponsor of the law in the French Parliament was a member from Senegal. The measure had the support of the representatives of the overseas territories and was passed by Parliament.

Mr. Raymond Lefevre (Special Representative of France) said that the housing problem was twofold. In rural areas the question was how to encourage Africans to improve their customary dwellings. In urban housing, the problem was aggravated by the rapid growth of towns and cities.

Describing the large number of dialects spoken in the territory, the Special Representative said there was no vernacular that could be taught in all schools instead of French. The Administration was of the opinion that unless there was an increase in the demand for higher education, it was premature to consider establishing institutions for secondary education in the Territory. Those who wanted to continue their academic education could do so in France or in Dakar.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### The Group Areas Act and its Effects

As a result of a deadlock reached in the investigation of proposals for "group areas" in Pretoria, the South African Government introduced a further amendment to the Group Areas Act which Dr. Donges said "merely brought about uniformity in the procedure of proclaiming non-European group areas."

When the Opposition examined the bill, however, it was found that the real purpose was to prepare the way for the Land Tenure Board to remove the townships of Claremont and Lady Selborne, near Pretoria—townships in which Natives have freehold rights. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 23, 1956.)

#### In Pretoria

Dr. G. Lowen, representing the Pretoria Council of Europeans and non-Europeans and other clients including 40,000 residents of Lady Selborne, had made an application that there

should be no further consideration of Lady Selborne in the investigation of proposals for group areas in Pretoria, on the grounds that the Board would be out of order in dealing with such proposals.

In terms of the Group Areas Act, no allocation could be made of areas which included grounds proclaimed by the Governor-General, in terms of the Native Urban Areas Act, as Native areas, he said. (*Pretoria News*, March, 1956.)

The Group Areas Board sitting in Pretoria had said it would cost Pretoria up to £5,000,000 to move the city's Coloured population from its present residential areas.

#### *In Johannesburg*

Extreme suffering caused by the effects of the Group Areas Act and *apartheid* were described in various parts of the country. The *Johannesburg Star* (March, 1956) reported: "Haunted by illness and uncertainty twenty-two Coloured families are living in impossible conditions in leaking tents at Noordgesig, the Coloured township near Orlando. The families, a total of more than 110 people, are victims of the Group Areas Act which was once described by an opposition member of Parliament as a 'massive, ill-digested, complicated piece of contentious legislation.' Among the tents, the Act is translated into a reality of coughing children, mud, ill-health and fear.

"Some of the families will be accommodated within the next few months in houses which are to be built by the Johannesburg Municipality, but an official of the municipal non-European Affairs Department said today that until the group areas were proclaimed little could be done."

#### *In Rural Areas*

The *Star* also reported that in Pietersburg, Transvaal, there is a growing population of homeless Indians and Coloureds. There are, in fact, no premises that they can legally occupy . . . There are about 750 Indians and nearly 200 Coloureds in the town. Nobody seems to know at this stage what will become of them, or where they will be able to live . . .

These small communities are educated and law-abiding and have the sympathy of the Europeans in their problem.

Municipal officials, much as they want to help, find they have their hands tied. A solution to the problem will only come when the Group Areas Act is in force and that may not be for some time.

The *Johannesburg Sunday Times* referred to another case in the Pietersburg area affecting twenty families of Africans whose story had been sworn in an affidavit before a commissioner of oaths.

"For three or four generations these people lived as squatters on a farm near Pietersburg. They paid, without fail, yearly rental in advance. Several months ago, under the Group Areas Act, they were ejected from the farm. The little community, which includes old people and babies, tried to find accommodation on other farms, without success.

"So they went to a lawyer. He wrote a letter explaining their predicament and told them to take it to the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs in Pretoria. The Secretary for Native Affairs referred them to the Director of Native Labour. The Director of Native Labour referred them to the office of the Native Commissioner.

"'At the office of the Native Commissioner,' reads the affi-

davit, 'we were referred to a European in a room in the Commissioner's building. We handed the letter to him.'

"After perusing the letter he stated that there was nothing he could do and we should 'trek'. We asked him, 'Waarheen moet ons trek?' and he replied, 'Julle kan hel toe gaan'.<sup>1</sup>"

#### *In Kimberley*

The *Sun* (March 9, 1956) referred to the Coloured people of Kimberley being removed from their homes. "It is not difficult for those who have known Kimberley for the past fifty years and more, to realize how deeply the pride of a cultured and independent race has been wounded . . .

"In the days when Kimberley and De Beers were synonymous, its Coloured people represented a group who were highly respected by the European races . . . In the employment of De Beers there were Coloured miners and highly skilled artisans. The cultural, social and sporting achievements of Kimberley's Coloured population were proverbial, and it can truly be said that its Coloured folk enjoyed privileges, freedom and justice . . . which not even Cape Town could attain . . .

"People who have owned their homes for generations and have grown to love 'every stone and stick' . . . have been ruthlessly rooted out and relegated to the extreme perimeter of cities, towns and villages . . ."

Writing of "the devilish subtle persecution which is being perpetrated on a defenceless group", the paper explained the apparent submission of the Coloureds.

"'Let them continue' is the oft repeated expression of the older generation of Cape Town's Coloured folk. 'There is a God who sleepeth not and . . . retribution will come'."

#### *Churches Protest*

The Federal Council of Coloured Churches in the Cape described the manner in which *apartheid* was being applied to the Coloured people as unfair and un-Christian. The conference was attended by delegates representing thirty congregations of seventeen established Coloured churches having a total membership of more than 20,000 people all over the Western Province and as far as Namaqualand.

The federation stated that the policy of *apartheid* is being applied 300 years too late when thousands of Coloured people, the products of mixed marriages, have already come into being. They are of the same blood as the White people, they have the same standard of civilization, the same religion and the same culture, and yet they are being treated as pariahs or barbarians. (*Star*, March, 1956.)

## **Industrial Conciliation Act Passed<sup>2</sup>**

The Industrial Conciliation Act was passed in spite of strong criticism by Labour, Liberal and United Party speakers. Mr. John Cope (U.P.) described Clause 77 as the most dangerous one in the entire bill. It gave the Government the machinery for creating an artificial shortage of White labour. He warned the House that this sort of protection would result in a falling off in efficiency. It could be used as a powerful political weapon, and it would be asking too much of "this Minister" not to expect him to use it for such a purpose.

He also referred to the tribunal to be appointed under the

<sup>1</sup>"You can go to hell."

<sup>2</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

Act as a very costly piece of machinery and its administration a considerable burden. He estimated that salaries and other costs for the operation of the tribunal would amount to more than £100,000 a year. A grave defect in the constitution of the tribunal was that it did not contain one expert closely associated with the workers in the non-European unions or non-European workers generally.

Mr. A. Hepple (leader of the Labour Party, whose parliamentary activity has earned him the title of Father Heppleston) said that the Minister of Labour was the architect of a plan to destroy the traditional Trade Union movement, and under the Act trade unions would be the "weak, useless organizations" which the Nationalists had intended them to be.

Mr. H. Davidoff (Labour) said that the South African delegation to the Internal Labour Organization at Geneva last year had voiced their protest against the principles embodied in the bill. The brand of trade unionism now being introduced into South Africa was of a Fascist nature. South Africa had prospered industrially under the existing Act, and there should be no need for trade unions to be subjected to government control.

At the annual conference of the Trades Union Council, Mr. T. Rutherford, in his presidential address, referred to Section 77 of the Act and warned that: "Reliance on the superficial antidotes of politicians, instead of self-reliance exercised within the scope of an equitable competitive field, can only end in stark tragedy for him and his children . . . Only by sound trade union action can we assure that the evolution of the Black man proceeds on a basis of justice and equity to all workers and without violence." (*Star*, March, 1956.)

## Native Builders Act Enforced

The Native Building Workers Amendment Act, which makes it illegal to employ Natives on skilled building work in urban areas other than Native areas, has come into force.

Meanwhile the President of the South African Railways and Harbours Artisan Staff Association at their Annual Conference has said: "The view is now accepted that 'non-Whites' will continue their march into industry in ever-increasing numbers." The situation called for a review of "our conventional outlook and policies". A drastic change may not at this stage be necessary, but an examination may prove beneficial. (*Star*, March, 1956.)

## New Prohibitions on Africans

A Bill giving urban local authorities arbitrary powers to banish, without trial or inquiry, Natives whose presence they consider "detrimental to the maintenance of peace and good order" was introduced in the House of Assembly on the same day as a new version of the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Bill.<sup>1</sup>

The Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill also provides that Native political offenders who disobey banishment orders imposed by Native commissioners may be sent to work colonies for an indefinite period.

The sweeping powers granted to local authorities mean that they can order the removal of a Native without his having any opportunity of stating his case, or appealing against the ejectment order.

The bill does not provide that the Native shall be given any detailed reason for his ejection. Nor does it matter whether

the Native was born in the area from which he is to be ejected or whether his family lives there.

The draft of the new version of the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Bill has been improved, but its provisions remain the same, laying down that a Native who is ordered to leave one place for another cannot obtain a delay of execution from the courts. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 20, 1956.)

Another bill, the Native Administration Bill, already passed by the Senate, extends ("for the sake of uniformity") the Natal Native Code to the 4 million Natives of the Cape Province, who were specifically excluded from its provisions by General Hertzog in 1927 on grounds of their general advancement.

The Natal Code, which applies in the three Northern provinces, gives the Governor-General, which in practice means the Minister of Native Affairs, powers to impose communal fines and summary punishment on all Natives without trial, and prohibits the courts from questioning the validity or legality of his actions under the code. (*Star*, April, 1956.)

The President of the Municipal Executive, Mr. J. C. K. Erasmus, condemned the Urban Areas Bill, and said local authorities had not asked for this power and did not want to exercise judicial functions or be responsible for combating political activity.

The *Pretoria News* (April 23, 1956) referred to the work colonies to which Africans could be sent under the terms of the bill and said that part of the function of such colonies was "the correction under suitable psychiatric and psychological supervision of behaviour disabilities which impede proper social adjustment." The *News* commented: "Even after eight years of Nationalist rule we can think of few measures so obviously wrong, so morally repugnant as these."

## Deportation Laws

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. Donges, introduced the Immigration Amendment Bill which gives the Minister wide powers to deport aliens—those who are not South African citizens.

Dr. Donges said that he had indicated his intention of acting against those people who might be likely to abuse the Union's hospitality by going abroad and calling in help from outside to buttress their minority standpoint in a purely South African issue.

He had mentioned the names of Mr. Solly Sachs, Father Trevor Huddleston, the Rev. Michael Scott, and Mr. Alan Paton, as examples of that type of person whose action in inviting external agencies to interfere in South African domestic affairs he deprecated most strongly as a crime against South Africa . . . Those who are South African citizens, such as Mr. Alan Paton and Father Huddleston, are not apparently affected by the amendment.

South Africans by domicile may, however, be liable to be declared prohibited immigrants if they remain overseas long enough to forfeit their domicile in the country.

Dr. Donges said at a recent meeting in Vredenburg that South Africa had become accustomed to attempts at interference in her domestic affairs by the enemies of South Africa. People who were citizens of South Africa and who attempted to enlist the support of the outside world against South Africa should be regarded as traitors.

The London journal *South Africa* (April 28, 1956) commented: "Father Huddleston, a South African citizen by regis-

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

tration, innocently claims that, not having been convicted of any crime, he cannot be deprived of his South African citizenship. He fails to observe that in the eyes of the Minister of the Interior he remains an immigrant, no matter how long or how short he may have been registered as a citizen. If he doubts this, let him try and go back! Dr. Donges would, for a certainty, deem him a prohibited immigrant, as he deemed Michael Scott before him, without explanation or opportunity of appeal. Mr. Alan Paton, Dr. Donges's newest target, is in a different category. He is as complete a South African as Dr. Donges himself—a South African citizen by birth, a first-class citizen as it has been called, who for this reason can neither be deported nor refused admission. What Mr. Paton has done to incur the displeasure of the Minister of the Interior we do not know; but surely Dr. Donges is not going to make South Africa look ridiculous—and worse—by introducing legislation making it a crime for any South African to criticize Nationalist policy while outside the Union's borders. The other day we had another example of the drastic powers enjoyed by the Minister of the Interior. The Rhodesian novelist, Doris Lessing, equipped with a British passport, arrived by air at Johannesburg on a short holiday visit. She was denied admission as a prohibited immigrant. It was the first she had heard of it, and no explanation was given. This sort of thing is not to South Africa's credit. If Dr. Donges goes through the solemn process of deeming this or that public figure a prohibited immigrant, as unfortunately he is free to do, at least let him gazette his decision as he does in the case of prohibited literature, so that it is not necessary for the victim to travel 6,000 miles to find out. As it is, South Africa seems to be going out of its way to make enemies."

### Mr. Alan Paton's Comments

On his return to South Africa after five months in the United States, Mr. Alan Paton said that at no meeting in the United States did he advocate an economic boycott of South Africa. "People asked me: 'What about an economic boycott of South Africa?' I always replied that one of the greatest factors in the improvement of the African people was the industrial revolution in South Africa . . ."

He added that the American people, having had a revolution in their history, were exceedingly "revolution-conscious." When they asked "When comes the revolution in South Africa?" he replied that it was a most difficult thing to rebel against a modern State . . . "I told the American people that the only hope of preventing this revolutionary situation of which they speak is for us to give proof to the people of the world that we intend to raise our non-European people to the status of full citizens of South Africa."

At a Liberal Party press conference Mr. Paton added that he considered it the duty of those who went overseas to speak as truly and objectively as possible on South Africa . . . It was important for everyone to realize that it depended on each member of the European population in South Africa whether any of them would continue to remain welcome guests to the African continent.

Only by giving proof now that South Africa intended to raise each person to a status where he could enjoy full rights of citizenship could the country hope to remove the bad impression obtained overseas through the recent actions and decisions of the present Government.

## Bantu Education

### Continued Protests

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, introduced a bill to amend the Bantu Education Act which does away with the full inquiry by the Native Affairs Commission provided under the original Act, giving the Minister sole discretion to refuse registration of a new school, or cancel the registration of an existing school.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (April, 1956) commented: "This has ominous implications in view of the fact that a number of Church authorities are known to have plans to open up private Native schools. It means that henceforth Dr. Verwoerd will be able to say 'No' without giving the sponsors of a new school a chance, at an inquiry by the Native Affairs Commission, of replying to any objections that may have been raised by the Department of Native Affairs."

The Minister told a deputation from the Christian Council of South Africa that virtually no new private schools would be permitted under the Bantu Education Act, and that direct fee-paying by Native parents towards the education of their children would not be allowed.

Dr. Verwoerd said that in the first year of the operation of schools under the Bantu Education Act, 200,000 more Native children had been placed in school than ever before. The Executive Committee of the Christian Council commented that in spite of this assertion, "there are still hundreds of thousands of children receiving no education. Instead of frowning on private schools the State should welcome every private effort to provide education."

The Committee added: "The Council views with grave concern the Minister's assertion that parents are not to be allowed to contribute to their children's education (by way of fees) if they wish and feel they can afford to do so. This is gross interference with the rights of parents. The parents' charter lies in his freedom of choice, and it is this which the Council believes must be safeguarded. Likewise the Council is very disturbed by the suggestion that there is no place in Bantu life for the equivalent of the great European private schools." (*Christian Council of South Africa, Press Release*, April 24, 1956.)

The *Star* (April 26, 1956) commented: "Dr. Verwoerd made it quite clear to the Christian Council that he will not tolerate competition with the State for the minds and souls of Native children, all of whom will be compelled, so far as this is possible, to attend departmental schools if they attend any at all."

### Official Attitude

The Information Officer to the Department of Native Affairs, Dr. T. S. van Rooyen, said in Pretoria that though the Bantu Education Act did not prescribe the policy to be followed by correspondence colleges and other private educational institutions, it would be in their own interests to conform to the requirements of the Act when providing courses for the Bantu . . .

It was only natural, he added, that a Bantu with a certificate showing that his studies had followed these requirements would receive priority when applying for an official post.

Referring to the scope of the Act, Dr. van Rooyen said that a further change was in the teaching of "environment" subjects, consisting mainly of history and geography, in which the aim is

to make the child conscious of his place in, and his duty towards, society.

"Under the old system the Native child was cut adrift from its own environment and consequently found difficulty in forming a concept of its own society and its duty towards it. This created a subconscious urge in him to seek a place in the European society and led to many difficulties, seeing that the European society, with its rooted traditions and characteristic outlook on life, refused to absorb the school-leaving Bantu. The result was that school-leaving Bantu found themselves in a cultural no-man's-land, and had a bitter sense of frustration." (*Rand Daily Mail*, April, 1956.)

#### Bishop of Johannesburg's Criticism

The closing, on the order of the South African Government, of the School of Christ the King, Sophiatown,<sup>1</sup> was widely reported by the B.B.C. in news services and on television. The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Reverend Ambrose Reeves, preached a sermon in which he described the excellence of the school's record during the year in which it had existed: "Here teachers gave of their best and children strove to work with zeal, anxious to fit themselves for life in a civilized community. Examination results in December were such that any school of any social group might be proud of them. Yet honourable as the record of the school of Christ the King has been in its short life, it has been ordered to close. . . ."

Speaking to children, parents and staff, the Bishop said that he could only pray that they would not allow the terrible wrong done in closing the school to embitter them. The Bishop said the buildings would be used as a Church Family Centre. (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 29, 1956.)

#### Crime to Teach

During his address in the Central Hall, London, Father Trevor Huddleston C.R. quoted a report from the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* (April 15, 1956) concerning the case of a 25-year-old African woman teacher who for the second time in less than five months, had been convicted and fined in the Vanderbijl Park Magistrate's Court for conducting a Bantu or Native school which was not registered under the Bantu Education Act.

In November, Thulo was fined £10, or a month's imprisonment, and for conducting the school since that conviction, she was fined £50, or three months' imprisonment, half the sentence being suspended for three years.

Sergeant N. J. Lemmer told the court that he went to Zuurfontein and found Thulo and between 100 and 120 children in the veld. She was the only adult present.

"When I arrived," said Sergeant Lemmer, "Thulo was looking at some slates on which the children had written. Two Native boys were holding up a blackboard on which some words had been written in a Native language. The children were reading from books or writing on their slates. It was clear that she was conducting a school. I asked for the written consent required by the Act to conduct a school, but she could not produce it. There were no school benches—the children sat on the veld—and no sanitary conveniences."

Thulo in evidence said: "As the Government is unable to take immediate steps I am giving the children lessons in order to keep them off the streets and prepare them for the time when

the Government can take them over and give them a school. The idea was to teach them the history and culture of the Bantu people until they could go to a Government school. I have no authority to establish, maintain or conduct a school."

#### Dismissal of Teachers

In the Cape Province, Coloured and African teachers have protested against dismissals. The dismissal of two Coloured teachers from the Cape Education Department on allegations of contravening certain amendments to the Cape Education Ordinance aroused a protest from more than 1,500 people at a meeting jointly convened by the Teachers' League of South Africa and the Peninsula Council of Parent-Teacher Associations.

The Vice-President of the League, Mr. E. Maurice, said that of the thirty-two allegations against the two teachers, not one referred to any misconduct in their professional work. The allegations were based on a presidential address by Mr. van Schoor at a Cape Town conference of the Teachers' League in June, 1955, and Mr. Kies was charged with publishing the address in the official organ of the League.

"There were charges of creating discord among different people. Far from being anti-White, the League declared itself against all forms of racialism," said Mr. Maurice.

A representative of the Cape African Teachers' Association alleged that many African teachers had been expelled because of their refusal to serve Bantu Education Act education. (*Golden City Post*, March 11, 1956.)

A subsequent statement issued by the Cape African Teachers' Association expressed outrage at the dismissal of more than twenty African teachers. The statement asked: "What have these teachers done? Why do the parents allow this unheard-of action of the Bantu School Boards to go unchallenged? These same school boards have abolished the school feeding scheme for our hungry children.

"What will happen to the education of our children if there is no security for the teachers?"

#### Continued Threat to Bring Apartheid to Universities

The political correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* (April 24, 1956) reported that: "The Government is expected to establish a new university for Natives in the Northern Transvaal when it gives effect to its plan of enforcing *apartheid* in South African universities.

"It is also likely that Bantu university education will be taken from the control of the Minister of Education and placed in the hands of the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, who is responsible for primary and secondary Native education."

The Annual Conference of the Afrikaanse Studentebond resolved that the Government should pass legislation introducing *apartheid* at South African universities. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April, 7, 1956.)

The Students' Representative Council of the Witwatersrand University said that any attempt to introduce separate universities for people of different races, as the Government promised to do, would be a step backwards in the education field.

Lady Agnew, president of the Alice Outpost branch of the

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

National Council of Women of South Africa, and head of the Department of Geography at Fort Hare College, said: "A great deal of money would be unnecessarily spent if colleges were opened for non-Europeans . . . Fort Hare has difficulty in finding a full enrolment, as it is . . . If colleges are established they won't even have an enrolment of 100 students each. There would be difficulty in attracting staff of high educational qualifications. Under such conditions, Natives would get an inferior education, and would feel that the principle behind ethnic universities was one of 'divide and rule'."

### Effects of Apartheid

In the Pretoria Supreme Court Mr. D. Nokwe, the African barrister,<sup>1</sup> has been granted a separate robing-room. Dr. Jacob Nhlapo, the *Bantu World* parliamentary reporter, is one of the only two people in the House of Assembly to have private cloakrooms—the other is the Prime Minister.

In the Johannesburg City Council, Nationalist members have expressed concern that *apartheid* should be enforced in the press gallery of the Council Chamber. There is provision for separate accommodation for non-European newspapermen but a Nationalist member has complained that to reach their press box, non-European reporters had to use the same doorway as European reporters.

Writing on the rapid growth of Bantu culture, *Ilanga Lase Natal* (March 3, 1956) referred to various problems. "One is our lop-sided social system, riddled with politics of discrimination. Censorship based not on absolute values, but on shifting artificial considerations, efforts to stunt the mind and soul, to 'control' natural growth, to stifle independence and talent, fear of enlightenment, progress and freedom and self-expression and assertion . . . The frustration, insecurity, bitterness and waste engendered by our social system often become destructive and corroding instead of creative. For there is a level beyond which adversity ceases to be creative and salutary, but becomes destructive. And insecurity breeds fear of insecurity, thus making men lackeys and slaves."

### Freedom Radio

A mysterious radio broadcasting anti-Nationalist propaganda has been heard by listeners in the Transvaal and Natal on several occasions. The broadcast opened with an introductory "V for Victory, calling all South Africans whose country means more to them than what Broederbond control has to offer" which was given by an announcer who spoke in a low and deliberate voice.

"South Africa, the resistance has just begun," he said. "Land of Hope and Glory" was then played . . . Adding that the British missionaries and frontiersmen were the real pioneers in South Africa, the announcer said: "Remember your heritage. Keep it alive and resist attempts to destroy it."

### Dutch Reformed Church Opinions

The Moderator of the Verenigde Kerk of the Transvaal, told the synod of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in the Free State that few people overseas would endorse the Church's stand on *apartheid* as it had been formulated thus far.

'We must realize, too, that we owe it to ourselves to see our

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

standpoint clearly in the light of Holy Scriptures.' He was conveying the greetings of the Transvaal Church to the Free State Synod (*Pretoria News*, April 26, 1956.)

The Federal Council of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerke, in a policy statement, defined its attitude towards the non-European members of the Church and said that it saw the establishment and development of separate churches as necessary for the evangelization of the Native peoples.

The statement said that where un-Christian exclusiveness has been practised in the mission field against non-Europeans, it has not occurred because of malice towards the non-European, or with the official backing of the Church, but should be seen as the result of circumstances beyond control and of general human frailty. (*Star*, April 27, 1956.)

The Reverend C. B. Brink, Moderator of the same Church, in the course of an address to a mission conference said: "I think the non-European wants to know from us whether our hearts are in accord with his heart. And if we can give that proof in our relations and behaviour towards all who are dependent on our example, we need not think seriously about the complaints against us . . ."

The Church was being accused of being in league with the Government. "I know nothing about this. On the contrary, I dare to say that not a single responsible Church leader will tolerate the Church becoming a department of the State. I know of no politician who has ever tried to dictate to the Church." (*Rand Daily Mail*, March, 1956.)

For the first time in the history of the Dutch Reformed Church a Native minister has been elected a member of a synod in Belfast, Transvaal. The Moderator of the N.H.G.K. said it was a unique occasion. As the Church developed in South Africa he hoped that the Native would play an increasing part in the affairs of the Church. The European would, however, always be needed.

### Apartheid in Religion

The magazine, *The Drum*, has investigated *apartheid* in the churches. It described some of the 1,200 breakaway African sects in the Union and suggested that the White *apartheid* churches were to blame for their development by 'squeezing out their black brothers in Christ'. *The Drum* (February, 1956) reported: "In the White orthodox Churches the Africans had found themselves pressed under by the colour bar, found that they could hardly ever be ordained as priests and the few that were had still to take orders from White superiors. They were denied many privileges enjoyed by their White colleagues. African pastors could not preach to a White congregation. They came to realize that they could not pray to God 'side by side' with people who refused to recognize and treat them like full human beings."

"In the Bible they read that the religion of Christianity did not recognize colour, that in the sight of God all men were brothers. What held true then still holds true today. Commenting on this, Mr. Andrew Masekoameng, Faith-healer of the Sophiatown St. John's Apostolic Faith Mission, said: 'If the Europeans want to work with us then they must listen to us. Until they are prepared to practise what they preach then they must walk clean out of our churches. They drove us out of their churches and now they call us heathens'."

In the following issue the experiences of the associate editor, Mr. Daniel Temba, and a European photographer, who visited

churches of various denominations, were described. They concluded that there was *apartheid* in most Christian churches. In one Dutch Reformed Church Mr. Temba joined in the service but from another he was forced to leave by some of the congregation who told him he should go to his own church. One Presbyterian church allowed him in but another refused him admittance, explaining that "the hall was rented from some boys' club whose policy did not allow non-Whites into the hall. They also said something about the laws of the country."

At another Dutch Reformed Church he was shouted at by a church official and told to get away, and then was welcomed into a Baptist Church. He continued: "At the Fairview Community of the Assemblies of God, the welcome party at the door invited me in but offered me a seat at the back. Everybody was polite and very Christian, they wanted to know where I came from. This up and down treatment wasn't doing my nerves much good. The previous day at the Claim Street Seventh Day Adventist Church, I had been stopped at the church door and told I could not go in. Then another church official thought that perhaps I could be placed somewhere at the back, but the other was definitely against it. So I turned away. A week or two later I went again and was asked to sit at the back. Later I was asked to leave. 'We object to your presence,' said a large White man."

On another Sunday, at a Dutch Reformed Church he was allowed to sit in an isolated pew, but then saw the doors being locked and after the service three plain-clothes policemen came towards him and told him to follow them into a car where they questioned him.

At a Seventh Day Adventist Church, he said, as he reached the doorway of the church "I was suddenly yanked off my feet and rushed down the steps. A big, hefty man, without even stopping to ask me to leave the church twisted my arm behind my back and together with two others they bundled me over to a waiting car. It was the 'bum's rush.' When we got to the car, my huge escort pressed me sharply into it. My head struck the side of the car and started bleeding slowly. The Editor, who had been watching from the street, came up to protest at my arrest by these churchgoers. He was grabbed, too, and bundled into the car.

"I was driven to Marshall Square (the central police station) where I was formally charged with trespass, at the insistence of the deacon. There was no charge to bring up against the Editor, who was released. I was 'cooled off' for an hour and then released on a bail of £5, and later went to court. But they couldn't find any charge to pin against me either, and the case was later withdrawn.

"On another Sunday I went to St. George's Anglican Church in Parktown. It was a beautiful church built in a lovely garden, and it had all signs of being for 'posh' people. I walked up the garden path to the door and walked in. I selected my seat. Nobody paid any attention to me, no one stared. There seemed to be nothing unusual about me being there. I still had another church to go to, so I left in about fifteen minutes. On my way out a priest asked me why I was leaving. He advised me to hurry back before all the seats were taken!

"Almost every Anglican church in Johannesburg would allow me to attend. One priest said there was a special 5 a.m.(!) mass for non-Whites and it would be best not to attend a 'White' Mass. Another said he wouldn't allow 'experimentation.' But one priest said: 'Why not come over for tea after-

wards.' Thirteen Catholic churches gave me the Okay. Priests said: 'Yes . . . sure . . . certainly . . . you don't have to ask . . . doors open to all.'

"I hurried on to the Methodist Church, Orange Grove, walked briskly to the door. Somebody met me at the door and offered me a hymn book. I selected my seat and sat down. I was paging through the book when a man walked over threateningly from the front pew to me—then he said: 'Glad to have you with us!' There was a big Christian brotherly smile on his face, and the grip of his handshake was firm and sincere. They were trying to make something of people being 'brothers in Christ.' Their battle was a difficult one, but at least they had one thing on their side . . . the promise that man was fundamentally good.

'For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether, bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit'—CORINTHIANS 12: 13."

The *Rand Daily Mail* interviewed a number of leaders of church communities after Mr. Temba's visit and reported that they were under the impression that the Government's *apartheid* policy was obligatory. For that reason, they said, non-European worshippers were not allowed at their European services. Provision was made for non-Europeans to hold their own services.

Another community defended their action in supporting *apartheid* in their churches by the fact that they always did their utmost to conform to the accepted custom in the countries where they were established. In one or two communities there was no colour discrimination among worshippers.

### Africans on Nursing Committee

The new Committee for 1956 of the Witwatersrand branch of the South African Nursing Association consists of five Europeans, six Africans and one Indian. The branch secretary of the Association, commenting on their election at the annual meeting, said this was the first time in the history of nursing that non-European members of the South African Nursing Association had come to an annual meeting in large numbers, and had dominated and elected their own non-European members . . . Usually a few non-European nurses attended, mainly to give reports on the progress of the various discussion groups, and elected one of the European members to represent them.

On this occasion, however, owing to the absence of a group of nurses who decided to boycott the meeting because it was "mixed", the non-European members present were sufficiently numerous to elect their own nominees.

"We who work with them daily are not at all disturbed," said a senior sister present. "It's just those who have boycotted the meeting who will mind, and it is directly because they failed in their duty as members that this has come about." (*Rand Daily Mail*, April, 1956.)

### African Women's Reaction to Passes

For the first time in the history of South Africa, African women have been included in the Pass System. Reference books were issued first in Winburg, Cape. The Johannesburg *Star* reported that there was no evidence of lack of co-operation or reluctance to pose for photographs.

A case was subsequently heard in the Winburg Magistrate's Court, when ten African women were charged with the theft of reference books. "The allegations against them are that they

took the reference books by force from other Native women and burned them." The *Rand Daily Mail* (April 27, 1956) reported the Detective Head-Constable's testimony. He said that 100 Native women cheered and gave a war cry when they saw the reference books which had been issued to them go up in flames in front of the Winburg Magistrate's Court on April 9.

### Dr. Edgar Brookes's Views

Speaking to a joint meeting of the Royal African Society and the Royal Empire Society (May 3, 1956), Dr. Edgar Brookes, former Professor of Public Administration and Political Science at Pretoria University, past President of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Member of the Union Senate for fifteen years and former member of the Native Affairs Commission, gave an address entitled "South Africa—the Possibles in an Impossible Situation". Dr. Brookes took as his theme the lines from *King Lear*:

"Think that the clearest gods, who make them honours  
Of men's impossibilities, have preserved thee".

In the course of the address he summed up the Nationalist policy as follows. It is "to maintain the rule of the White man in the Union of South Africa for all time, and within the White group to ensure the permanent hegemony of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans." After describing some of the severe restrictions imposed under the Nationalist programme, Dr. Brookes said it was important to realize that unless this policy was successful at every point, "the whole programme of national self-preservation must fall to the ground."

He added: "What at first glance seems a passionate faith in the future of a small nation becomes on analysis a policy of something like despair, buttressed by a vigilance which is not unlike fear."

He pointed out that industry and agriculture are entirely dependent on non-European labour and that even in White preserves in these fields South Africa has difficulty in getting White employees to fill the vacancies. The only way out would be encouragement of White immigration on a large scale. The Government did not want immigrants from those countries that might supply them, and those countries from which it wanted immigrants could not, or would not, supply them.

"It is for these reasons that I am convinced of the ultimate failure of Nationalism in the Union, convinced that the structure of Nationalism can never stand the power of facts. Nationalism as it stands can no more succeed in South Africa than Hitler could in Germany, though like Hitler it may ultimately involve the whole country in its own ruin."

Turning to the non-European Dr. Brookes said that there was probably a decided majority of Africans not yet very interested in political problems, and he considered the weakness of the African National Congress in certain provinces. He said that while Nationalists were right from a short-term point of view in knowing that the masses would not give active support to a militant Congress programme and that repressive measures would quieten the Congress, from the long-term point of view they were once again wrong. 'The future lies with the educated men, the 'marginal men' of whom Dr. Myrdal speaks in his study of the American Negro. It is the ideals and programme of this group which we must specially study. The ideals of the African National Congress, of the Indian National Congress, of the more militant Coloured organizations, are essentially the ideals which commend themselves to the majority of member-

States of the United Nations. Again striving to express those ideals without distortion or exaggeration, I would say that what is wanted is not to drive Europeans from the country, but to ensure that universal suffrage is established in South Africa in our time and that the colour bar is abolished in all its manifestations, also in our time . . .

"It is therefore these ideals which we are called upon to examine. Who can expect of any father, Black, Brown or White, that he should sit down contentedly to the fact that his son will for ever be an inferior in the land of his birth? The non-European aspiration for equal rights is fully as intelligible as the desire of the Afrikaner to preserve his hard-won nationality. The difficulty, however, is to see how the Congress ideals can be carried out, leaving South Africa (as the Congress wishes it to be) a peaceful and prosperous land."

But unless a revolution in White South African thought occurred, the Congress programme would not be carried out with the consent of the European majority. He hoped that European thought would change as the result of gradual processes of education, but the leaders of the non-Europeans and anti-colonial forces were in a hurry. "That means that the Congress programme can only be realized within a reasonably short space of time by force—either by intervention from without or by revolution from within. That revolution need not necessarily be violent. If it is to be non-violent, it will, however, need an exceptional unity, selflessness and discipline which are not yet characteristic of the non-European masses.

"It is difficult to see how this unity and discipline can be attained within our lifetime, except by the nation-wide preaching of hatred and bitterness . . . Even if the revolution were successful, the poison of hatred would remain in the body politic. It is easier to release this evil spirit than to recapture it. The new State would begin its career with a legacy of unconquerable bitterness, and by destroying or making impossible the position of those who can provide it with capital and technological skills its leaders would set back the clock in South Africa for many generations. They would create a desolation and call it liberty.

"All this assumes that the revolution would succeed, but in spite of the disparity of numbers it is by no means certain that the non-Europeans, even if united and disciplined, would succeed in any armed conflict. They might indeed provoke intervention from the outside world if the conflict were prolonged and bloody enough; but this is not to be depended upon.

"*Satyagraha* might conceivably cut this knot, but we have generalized too easily from the experience of India . . .

"As many a good Nationalist urges complete *apartheid*, while being quite sure in his inner heart that it is impracticable, so scarcely any accredited non-European political leader dares demand anything less than immediate universal suffrage, though he knows full well that it could only be obtained by force and that force is not at present likely to succeed. Once again our attempt to break out of the prison of South Africa has brought us to an unscalable wall. Once more we are beset with 'men's impossibilities'."

Referring to the English-speaking South African, Dr. Brookes said that 'if they all had (as a few have) moral stature equal to their calling they might well be the mediators in this world of impossibilities. But some do not care; some confine themselves to wistful and useless regrets that the Union is not a second New Zealand or even a second Southern Rhodesia;

some have no higher ideal than 'peace in our time, O Lord', which is after all only a pious way of saying 'After us the deluge'."

Like most politically-minded Englishmen anywhere, their usual desire was to arrive at fair and reasonable working compromises by the use of constitutional machinery, but in South Africa the United Party made a ludicrously inadequate offer to the non-Europeans. "The political difficulties of the United Party have left it with an almost ineradicable tendency to shape its policy in the somewhat vain hope of winning back marginal seats from the Nationalist Party. We should, however, go deeper than the surface of party tactics, and consider that there are those in the United Party and out of it who know that this is not enough, and desire to produce some better alternative to Nationalism. It is urgent that this alternative should in fact be produced, for it is already near the eleventh hour, and not enough is being done to produce it."

The way out for the English-speaking South Africans "is to win the next election, as in the good old days of General Smuts. But it becomes increasingly clear that they will never win any next election. The Nationalists have virtually restricted the franchise to Whites. Of those Whites, the Afrikaans-speaking group forms nearly 60 per cent. By training their youth in Afrikaans-medium schools and universities, staffed mainly by Nationalists and inspired by the spirit of what is called 'Christian National Education', and by making the path of the Afrikaans-speaking non-Nationalist more and more difficult socially and politically, they ensure that most of this majority group of young people emerge convinced Nationalists." He added that "the English-speaking South African who longs to work within the Constitution and to carry through Parliamentary reforms on moderate lines is beginning to realize that he has no chance of ever doing so. The Constitution itself fights against him."

Faced with the question "is there no way out?" Dr. Brookes said: "We feel our helplessness. We realize also our blindness, for none of us can foresee what the best plan for South Africa two hundred years hence would be. The prison walls enclose swirling mists. If we may change the metaphor, none knows where or what the journey's end may be, but perhaps we can see enough to start on the right road.

"To my mind there are three things which we who care for South Africa can do and must do—be honest in our thinking, be courageous in our speaking, and do sincere and creative work in whatever sphere lies open to us.

"Let no man feel that these three things, because of their very simplicity, form an anti-climax in this discussion. They lie within our own power. No authority on earth can stop us from doing them. They are rare virtues, and they are sorely needed. Perhaps they will find the gateway that leads out of our prison when all our attempts to scale the wall have failed.

"That South Africans should be honest in their thinking would indeed be a major victory. Few countries are so riddled with dishonesty as the Union. The proportion of deliberate hypocrites among us is no higher than in other countries, but the amount of self-deception is staggering . . . There is a battle to be fought and won in the inner citadel of truth, and perhaps few who are not South Africans realize what a battle it is."

In reply to a question as to whether Father Huddleston's campaign in moving the conscience of the world was helpful, Dr. Brookes said that "Every Englishman has right to take an

interest. Criticism from the outside is not offensive and has an effect. There is a duty to express deep feelings."

### The Tomlinson Report

After nearly five years, the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union (under Professor F. R. Tomlinson, an Afrikaner economist) has tabled its report in the South African House of Assembly. The abridged version runs to over 200 pages. The report itself comprises seventeen volumes.

Seven "national homes" for the Bantu people are envisaged. One would ultimately have Swaziland as its core or nucleus; another, Basutoland: a third would have Bechuanaland; the others would be in the Transkei, Natal and Northern Transvaal. A clear-cut and definite choice is now inevitable between "ultimate complete integration" and "ultimate complete separation between Europeans and Bantu".

The Commission expressed its conviction "that the only solution is the separate development of European and Bantu." It therefore puts forward a colossal scheme for the development of Bantu areas or "homes", for the organization of Bantu farming, establishment of numerous towns and villages, development of industries and training of Bantu personnel. The cost will be £104 million for the first ten years.

It warns that the scheme is urgent and essential if the White population of South Africa—which will be no more than 6 million in a total of 31 million by the end of the century—is to save itself . . . (*Rand Daily Mail*, April, 1956.)

The Commission recommends that there should be gradual transition to a new system of land tenure—the quit-rent system of individual tenure and the principle of "one man—one plot" will be abolished; only land in planned betterment areas will be sold to the Bantu; Bantu land-boards will recommend applicants. A survey of mineral resources should be made; Bantu private enterprise in mining encouraged, and numerous industries should be developed.

All Churches and missionary societies at work among the Bantu should be registered by the State *de novo*, and recognition should be given to no new Churches, save in very exceptional cases. Welfare services should be established, and chiefs and councillors and their families should receive a thorough education. Technical schools and university colleges should be established in certain Bantu centres.

In these Bantu areas, "the Bantu themselves will exercise administrative functions to an ever-increasing extent, suited to the normal process of development and according to the demands of the time."

The Commission draws a comparison, in pointing out that the task set in its report cannot be described as impossible, "indeed not even as exceptionally difficult", with the task of reconstructing the war-devastated countries after 1945.

### Opposition Comments

The United Party supported the condensed findings of the Tomlinson Report on the specific point of the reasonable and sensible development of the Native Reserves. Mr. J. Strauss, M.P., Leader of the Party, said that to the Government it is an ideological question. To the United Party it is primarily an economic question . . . The Government apparently would not permit the European, by enterprise, skill and capital, to

contribute directly to the development of the reserves, but the United Party wanted to use European leadership there to the full. He suggested that the imagination and bold action which the Tomlinson Commission demanded should be applied not only to the reserves, but over the whole of South Africa. "Why should we not extend this tremendous energy and sacrifice to the advance of the European as well as the Native?"

The Liberal Party said there was no economic justification for settling Natives in seven different heartlands and that it was obvious that the motive for so doing was to divide and rule. They maintained that the recommendations were impracticable. There was no reason to believe the High Commission Territories would be handed over to the Union Government for the implementation of a Nationalist policy contrary to the democratic principles Britain is attempting to introduce into other African territories. The whole conception of development in African areas, and the sums required for this, was contradicted by all that the Government had done and was doing. "The danger is rather that the Government will use the illusory promises of the Tomlinson Report to deprive Africans of some of their few remaining rights and resources." The Party maintained that 'development in countries throughout the world has shown that integration into a common society is the only sound line of political advance.' (*Rand Daily Mail*, April, 1956.)

Nationalist newspapers recommended a careful study of the Report. English-language newspapers were sceptical, the *Star* (March 28, 1956) commenting: "At best the scheme could provide a new economic structure for the Union; at worst it will throw a flood of light on the dark places of this part of Africa."

The *Pretoria News* pointed out that even with the development of the Reserves in the manner indicated, there would still be some 6 million to 7 million Natives in the so-called White areas. "What political rights are they to have? And if they are to have none, what reason is there to suppose, on the arguments of the *apartheid* theorists themselves, that they will remain content? What conceivable possibility is there that the Protectorates will be incorporated? . . . What place in this imaginary patchwork of the future will the Nationalist Party be prepared to assign to the Indian community? What place will there be for the Coloureds in the Western Cape, which it is suggested should be cleared of Natives for their benefit? Will either of these groups be content for ever with inferior political rights or no political rights at all? Finally, what sort of *apartheid* is this which envisages a single area inhabited by something like 6 million Whites, 6 million Natives, 2½ million Coloureds and 1 million Asiatics?"

#### *Comment Outside the Union*

London's *The Times* (April 19, 1956) asked: "Can anyone seriously believe that a vast Bantu majority will submit to being permanently relegated to comparatively poor agricultural areas while the Europeans continue to possess the eye-teeth of South Africa—the gold and diamond mines, to mention only two items? And how are the Europeans to resist the demands of the Bantu in these Bantu areas if they have within their own walls a fifth-column in the shape of a disenfranchised Bantu population, exceeding themselves in number, bound by ties of blood and interest to the Bantu over the border, and essential to the maintenance of their own European economy? If it is accepted that this is impossible, the Europeans have two other courses open to them. One is to contract themselves into a perimeter small

enough to contain a population of purely European stock. They would have to drive out the Bantu from their midst, step up European immigration, and do their own menial work. In that case they would almost certainly have to give up either the gold mines or the ports, thus becoming either an isolated enclave or a virtually agricultural community. The alternative would be simply to maintain European hegemony over a population of Bantu helots and Asian metics. This is, in fact, the path down which the South African Government is being slowly driven, willy-nilly. The Tomlinson Report is an attempt to get off this path, but, on its own showing, an unworkable one. Integration, as stated in the Report, sounds an unattractive policy, but there are aspects of it which the European might not find as bad as he fears."

*The Economist* (April 28, 1956) drew attention to many questions which the Commission left unanswered and added: "The overriding issue, of course, is the practicability of the segregation formula. One member of the Commission, Professor Bisschop, fears that it will prove to be impracticable, and says, in a dissenting passage that 'progressive integration, with its economic and political consequences, will then have to be accepted.' His views are widely shared in other quarters. There is also the question of the degree to which the Native people will co-operate in a scheme designed by White men primarily to safeguard their political domination . . .

"Moreover, will White capital, White entrepreneurs, White technicians and supervisors, be attracted to the Native areas if they know they are to be there on sufferance and only as long as they can be used and are needed? And what will White industrialists and farmers say if Black men start moving to the Native areas in large numbers? Fifty per cent of the workers in S.A. industry are Natives. There are today 21,000 Native tractor drivers in the smallest province, the Free State; the agricultural industry in this area will collapse if these men decide to go and drive tractors in the Native areas.

"As a regional plan to develop an underdeveloped area, the Tomlinson Report has much to commend it. But it fails completely to provide a satisfactory formula either for total territorial separation or for co-existence in a multi-racial society."

The Central African Federation representative of the Johannesburg *Star* (March 30, 1956) commented that the proposal to incorporate Bechuanaland in the Union to help to solve South Africa's Native problems would not be popular in Rhodesia . . . Officials in Salisbury had declined to comment on this fresh proposal for S.A. annexation of the entire protectorate (to a portion of which Southern Rhodesia had repeatedly laid claim), but responsible Rhodesians had not the faintest belief that the United Kingdom Government would transfer Bechuanaland to the Union Government, if only because of the outcry among the British electorate . . .

#### *Government Views on Tomlinson Report*

In a White Paper (April 24, 1956) the South African Government rejected the major provisions in the Tomlinson Report. While the Government believes that it is in the interest of the country to make "considerable amounts available for the development of the Bantu areas", it does not accept the figures of the Report. Nor does it accept that the rate of development of the Bantu areas can be determined . . .

The Government also disagrees with the Commission on the industrial development of the Bantu areas . . . It accepts the

policy that Bantu enterprise should be enabled to develop its own industries inside Bantu areas, but "European industrialists should not be permitted in these areas . . . The Department of Native Affairs, after consultation with the State departments concerned, must be able to guide and assist Bantu industrialists, even where smaller industries are concerned." Funds at the disposal of the Native Trust "of at least £500,000 can be granted immediately."

The White Paper adds that the Government rejects the Commission's recommendations for the establishment of a development corporation and council, and for the reorganization of the Department of Native Affairs. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 25, 1956.)

On May 14, the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, told the Parliament that the Government accepted in principle the Tomlinson Commission's Report but reserved the right to deal on their merits with the methods advocated in it. Britain's experience elsewhere in Africa had shown it was wiser to let schemes develop and review them each year. This was not to say that the South African State could not afford the expenditure advocated £105 million in the first ten years); money would have to be spent anyway to meet the needs of the fast-growing Native population. The existence of a white civilization in South Africa depended on a policy of *apartheid*, and expenditure on this was absolutely essential. The country could easily afford *apartheid* but services for White people would not be curtailed for a programme to carry it out. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 15, 1956.)

Professor Tomlinson, in a Press interview, gave the following answers to questions:

"Q.: If there will be 10 million Bantu in the Bantu areas by 1986, how many millions will remain in the White areas?

A.: If the rate we have set is maintained there will be . . . 6 million in the European areas. By the year 2,000 A.D. there will be nearly 15 million in the Bantu areas and 6½ million in the European areas.

Q.: Can you call that 'complete separation'?

A.: No. It depends what you mean by complete separation.

Q.: What does the Commission mean by complete separation?

A.: We don't talk of complete separation. We talk of complete separate development." (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 29, 1956.)

### Fr. Huddleston's Arrival in Britain

Fr. Trevor Huddleston, C.R., arrived in London on April 13. He immediately became the centre of controversy. Apart from appearing on radio and television in the U.S.A. and in the United Kingdom, he preached and addressed numerous meetings—in London a meeting of 7,000 in the Albert Hall was followed a week later by a meeting of 4,000; and the following evening attendance at a meeting in Cambridge necessitated two overflow halls.

The *Manchester Guardian* commented that if the organizers of the meetings had been in any doubt about the interest of the British public in South Africa and its problems, they received an effective answer . . .

The *Daily Telegraph* said Fr. Huddleston almost certainly represents the prevailing temper of British opinion in his fight against *apartheid*.

In the course of a press conference in London, Fr. Huddleston said: "What is happening in South Africa today is a chal-

lenge to the Christian conscience of the world. South Africa talks as a Christian country and a democracy, and therefore one should take her at her word, and if one takes her up on those points, she has only herself to blame." He called for the constant and vocal expression of disgust at the things being done in South Africa which were contrary to the Christian gospel. He believed South Africa was very sensitive to criticism—far more than she liked to admit—from the outside world. He referred to the recent statements by Mr. Strijdom expressing the wish to establish good relations with other African countries. He believed the long-term effects of such criticism were very considerable.

Commenting on Bantu education, Fr. Huddleston said it was part of a set-up intended to perpetuate White supremacy in South Africa. With regard to the Western Areas removals, he clearly explained that these had not been actuated by a genuine desire for slum clearance on the part of the Government for there were more than 90,000 Africans needing homes in terrible slums on the periphery of Johannesburg. No doubt Mr. Eric Louw (who had accused him of not telling the truth about these removals in his book), had never set foot in Sophiatown, where conditions were incomparably better than in other townships.

"South Africans always talk in terms of problems, never of principles. Those who have had the privilege and joy of working alongside African people simply cannot see why it should be assumed that it is impossible to live happily together. The only solution is the integration on a social, economic and political level. The miscegenation bogey is always raised by South Africans. As a Christian I refuse to be interested at this level because it is the moral that matters, and in a Christian society we've got to go for moral principles. *Apartheid* means injustice, degradation and hurt to White and Africans."

He added that in South Africa there was of course a group of White South Africans—both English and Afrikaans—who are designated as liberals or liberalist. They are very gallant, and they include some of the best South Africans, like Alan Paton. Over recent years the liberal forces have been consolidating: the Labour Party (the most effective opposition in Parliament) and Liberal Party, Congress of Democrats and others have come together. It is encouraging to see the Black Sash turning their attention to other matters than the constitution.

With regard to African opposition, he said it was at a low ebb because of the fierce legislation directed against any kind of resistance. The prospects of a change of Government were very slight indeed.

At the Society for the Propagation for the Gospel's annual rally in the Albert Hall, Fr. Huddleston said he was grateful to Mr. Louw for challenging him to tell people what White South Africans did for the social and economic uplift of the Natives. In response he enlarged on the rigid social colour bar; on the spending of £40 a year on a European child's education compared with £2.8 on the average Native child; and on the forced removals from Sophiatown, while the worse slums of Orlando and Moroka and Pimville were left. He said: "The driving force behind South Africa's policy is the doctrine of White supremacy, now and for ever. The view that prevails is the view that says to the African people 'we want your labour but we don't want you'." He appealed to the Church to fulfil its function in an Africa that is on the move, otherwise the continent will turn to a fierce Black nationalism or to Communism. (*Johannesburg Star*, April 19, 1956.)

The *Church Times* (April 27, 1956) said Fr. Huddleston's speech at the meeting organized by the Africa Bureau and Christian Action in the Central Hall, "was more political in tone, though his burning Christianity shone through it and proved beyond a doubt that here was no tub-thumping orator, but a holy and humble man of heart."

During the speech Fr. Huddleston said: "It comes as a shock to me to find that the idea of South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth is considered very peculiar. But why is it so odd that a State that is a member of the Commonwealth, but has no intention of upholding the principles of freedom, should not be allowed to associate with the rest of the Commonwealth, which openly professes those principles? We measure South Africa's value in economic and strategic terms. We forget that we are living in a world in which Africa is emerging as the most important single continent . . . We have been hearing from South Africa for the last five years nothing but vituperation of the British connexion. The Government of South Africa is not interested in maintaining a link with the British Commonwealth. I think it would be more dignified to show South Africa the door. At least we would be putting a little bit of imagination into our colonial policy."

Fr. Huddleston made the following suggestions to people overseas who wish to help. They should:—

1. Be informed of the facts.
2. Remove the colour bar in the U.K., and write to M.P.s about any cases of discrimination.
3. Improve conditions in the British Protectorates in South Africa. Mr. Strijdom was expected to visit the U.K. shortly to demand at least condominium in the Protectorates. "And he has a very good case," said Father Huddleston, "if we allow conditions to remain as they are."
4. Press for freedom of movement for all citizens within the Commonwealth. A White South African with any kind of political record could not easily get a pass out of the country and for Africans it was even more difficult.
5. Offer bursaries and scholarships at our universities and colleges for training African leaders, to whom higher education was denied inside the Union under the Bantu Education Act.
6. Impose a cultural and sporting boycott of South Africa. He referred to the jazz band leader, Johnny Dankworth (present on the platform) who had turned down a £10,000 contract, and the Musicians' Union was also refusing contracts which imposed discrimination in entertainment.
7. To use economic pressure against the South African Government.

### "Naught for Your Comfort"<sup>1</sup>

The London correspondent of the Johannesburg *Star* reported that reviews of Father Huddleston's book, *Naught for Your Comfort*, almost without exception were highly favourable.

In South Africa the book received good reviews from most of the English language papers. The *Cape Times* (March 29, 1956) commented: "Father Huddleston has gone to life, and has brought life to life in his book. Life is not law and regulation. It knows little of the perfect conformist who can get by if he obeys dutifully and passes by on the other side if his brother or his neighbour is in trouble. Life is sensation, feeling, love, hate, anger, compassion and glory. Father Huddleston's book

<sup>1</sup>Pub. Collins, 12s. 6d.

is devoured by its readers not, as the *Burger* suggested yesterday, because he is a mystic, but because he has contrived by a remarkable feat of factual story-telling to put Bantu life warmly and pulsatingly into print. His book is a book of subjective fact. . . ."

The Nationalist newspaper, *Die Burger*, declared: "Nothing shows more clearly the growing emotional gulf between European South Africa and the British masses than their different views of Father Trevor Huddleston. A man who is here fairly generally regarded as a pest is there honoured as a saint, and not only in the left wing press but by universities and other fairly conservative quarters. Nor let us have any illusions about the significance of this man in the destinies of South Africa. His authority in the eyes of the British public has been immeasurably strengthened by his self-denying and self-sacrificing existence here among submerged Natives. His voice will be accepted by the great mass—so indifferent to religion, but so receptive even to the appearance of holiness, especially if it strengthens preconceived ideas—as the voice of the truth about South Africa . . ." (March 27, 1956.)

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Donges, said it would not be banned in South Africa, adding that any harm done by the book overseas could not be undone by banning it in South Africa.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, and the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Louw, joined in attacking Father Huddleston for his strictures on South Africa in the book. The Prime Minister said there were certain clerics motivated by anything but a spirit of goodwill, like Father Huddleston and Michael Scott, who were competing with the notorious Dr. Phillips and Dr. van der Kemp, of the London Missionary Society, of the previous century, in their attempts to slander the White man in South Africa and to incite not only the outside world against South Africa.

In so far as the non-Whites were concerned, Father Huddleston and Michael Scott had not achieved much success, as was shown by the campaigns against the Meadowlands removal scheme and the Bantu Education Act. These fanatics were now concentrating on a campaign of misrepresentation to incite the world against South Africa . . .

Mr. Louw, in his statement, said: "No doubt the book will impress people in Britain and in the United States who are not acquainted with the South African scene. As so often happens with those who are driven by religious fervour and fanaticism, the Rev. T. Huddleston is unable to see wood for trees . . ." (*South Africa*, April 21, 1956.)

The leader of the United Party, Mr. J. Strauss, commented that it was a great disservice to the country that the Prime Minister for political considerations should act as he had been doing as the chief publicity agent for Father Huddleston and his book. "But the Prime Minister tries to tie Father Huddleston on to the United Party when he knows and the country knows that we have nothing to do with him and that we do not share his views." (*Rand Daily Mail*, April, 1956.)

Judge F. A. W. Lucas, in a letter to the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* (April 22, 1956) replied to Mr. Louw's accusation that Father Huddleston had not told his readers or his audiences about the good things being done for the Bantu by the South African Government. Judge Lucas said: "The medical services provided for the Bantu are good, but they cannot be called adequate. Nor can the social services. The educational service

is meagre in the extreme, and the agricultural training is little, if any, better.

"While many millions are being spent on education for Whites, a very small sum, relatively, is expended on the education of more than three times as many Blacks. Any increase in that sum is to be raised by special additional taxation on Natives, although considering their poor economic standing they are the most heavily pressed section of the community, because of customs tariffs and control boards.

"It is common for White politicians to claim that the Whites pay for the services provided for the Blacks. That is not true and, in fact, it may well be claimed that the Whites owe their present high standard of living to the Blacks. Where would our mining industry be without them, or our very wealthy farmers, mealie kings, wool kings, and others?"

### Clerics Hit Stocks

With this headline, the *Cape Times* (April 18, 1956) carried an article about the continuation of negative patterns on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. It added: "It was thought also that the present publicity being given to the anti-South African propaganda of certain clerics was adversely affecting investment in South African stocks."

### Community of the Resurrection Carries On

The African journal, the *Drum* (April, 1956) reported on a meeting at the Johannesburg City Hall. The *Drum* said: "It's much like that old Jack-in-the-Box toy, the way these Anglican priests keep coming up in the game of politics. In 1949 the Rev. Michael Scott left South Africa after a stormy career. Up popped Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R., who must have been standing by at the ready. After several years of blasting away at South Africa's Christian conscience, the Community of the Resurrection removed him to go and nurse Novitiates at Mirfield, England. But there was another man standing by! Just two days after Father Huddleston sadly flew off, another St. Peters strong-man, Father Martin Jarrett-Kerr, C.R., took over the political chores. He began by tickling Johannesburg's lunch-hour public pink with his tart humour. He was speaking at a meeting at the City Hall steps called to net a few more signatures for the Freedom Charter. He let loose an accumulation of wisecracks, worthy enough to have been told round the dinner table at St. Peters Priory. One choice crack, made when he spied the police watching the meeting: 'They will probably say I'm inciting people to make trouble. But if I were to point up to the sky and say that it is going to rain, am I inciting that cloud to rain?' Quite the latest technique in political attack!"

## SOUTH WEST AFRICA

### International Court's Hearing

THE International Court of Justice considered the request of the General Assembly of the United Nations for an Advisory Opinion on whether the Special Committee on South West Africa could receive oral petitions. The United States Government made a written submission and after requesting the postponement of the Court's hearing for a week to enable him to

make an oral statement, the Attorney-General of the United Kingdom also made a submission.

In the course of its statement, the United States Government referred to the experience of the League of Nations in connexion with the supervision of the Mandates system. It quoted: — "To sum up, it may be said that—within the framework of the Mandates system, as it has been applied hitherto—the Council and the Mandates Commission have at their disposal a variety of appropriate means of obtaining information which, in general, constitute an excellent basis for the exercise of supervision over the mandatory administration, but that sometimes, in particular cases and exceptional situations, they can discharge their task only 'within certain limits' unless they have recourse to more direct means of procuring information."<sup>1</sup>

The United States Government concluded with a reference to the present practice of the U.N. Committee on South West Africa:—

"In 1955, the Committee on South West Africa reported to the General Assembly (U.N. Document A 2918) that the Committee had invited the Government of the Union of South Africa to assist the Committee in its work and in particular to render a report on the Territory of South West Africa for the year 1954. The Committee reported that the Government of the Union of South Africa had notified the Committee that the Union Government's attitude had remained unchanged concerning the submission of reports. In July, 1949, the Union Government notified the Secretary-General of the United Nations that the Union Government had decided to discontinue the submission of reports. In addition, the Union Government has refused to submit petitions on the Territory, or otherwise provide information to the Committee.

"The Court's Advisory Opinion of July 11, 1950, concluded that the General Assembly of the United Nations should act in the place of the Council of the League of Nations in exercising international supervision over the administration of the Territory of South West Africa and should conform as far as possible to the procedure followed in this respect by the Council of the League of Nations. The Council never authorized the Permanent Mandates Commission to grant oral hearings of petitioners. The Council and the Mandates Commission did, however, receive extensive information concerning the Territory from direct sources such as annual reports, written petitions, and hearings of accredited representatives. What action the Council would have taken, had that body and the Mandates Commission been denied such information, must necessarily be a matter of speculation. It does appear, however, that the Council considered itself competent to authorize the Mandates Commission to obtain information through such appropriate means as circumstances might require for the effective supervision of the Mandates System. Where the United Nations body charged with supervision of a mandate is denied access to direct sources of information concerning the mandated territory—through absence of annual reports, comments of the mandatory on written petitions, and appearance of a representative of the mandatory at meetings of the supervisory body—it would seem that the General Assembly (as the United Nations body responsible for supervision) could properly authorize resort to other sources in order to gain information on the mandate, including the oral hearing of petitioners from the territory."

<sup>1</sup>The Mandates System, Origin, Principles, Application. (L.N. publication, 1945.)

The Attorney-General for the United Kingdom, in an oral submission to the Court on March 22, 1956 argued that oral petitions had not been heard by the Permanent Mandates Commission in fact, and since the previous Opinion of the International Court had concluded "that the degree of supervision should not therefore exceed that which applied under the Mandates system" and not "which might have been applied" oral petitions were therefore inadmissible by the United Nations Committee on South West Africa. He did not take account of the argument<sup>1</sup> that the form of petition cannot be regarded as increasing or diminishing the degree of supervision since it involves no such legal obligations as existed under the Permanent Mandates Commission. He concluded his oral statement with the words:—

"In one sense it is a very important question for if oral hearings can be granted it will mean that the Committee on South West Africa is converted into something in the nature of a court. It should be borne in mind that written petitions can be submitted direct to the Committee on South West Africa. There is consequently nothing to prevent those who wish to be heard orally from putting down on paper all that they wish to say to the Committee. So acceptance of the arguments I have addressed to the Court does not mean that petitioners cannot put forward petitions. They must do so in the way which is permissible, that is to say, in writing."

The Rev. Michael Scott, representative of the Herero, Nama and Berg-Damara tribes, commented:—"From the statement made by the Attorney-General it seems that the Government of the United Kingdom now recognize the right of the United Nations Committee on South West Africa to receive petitions direct and that it implicitly recognizes the supervisory functions of the United Nations exercised through the Committee on South West Africa which it established in order to conform to the recommendations of previous Advisory Opinions of the International Court in an effort to meet the objections of the South African Government to the trusteeship system as the natural successor of the Mandates system."

In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Scott said it was difficult to understand the intervention of the Attorney-General whose statement proved to be in opposition to the United States' statement favouring the hearing of oral petitions under certain circumstances. He added: "The Attorney-General based his argument against hearing them on the fact that no oral petitions had ever been heard by the Permanent Mandates Commission, and on the wording of the Court's previous advisory opinion 'that the degree of supervision should not be greater (under the United Nations) than that which applied under the mandates system.' It did not say, he emphasized, 'than that which might have applied.' On the other hand the Attorney-General in his concluding remarks turned against his own argument by declaring: 'It should be borne in mind that written petitions can be submitted direct to the Committee on South West Africa.' The rule of the mandates system was that petitions from within the territory should be sent through the Mandatory Government and not direct.

"What was equally puzzling to many like myself who attended the hearing at The Hague was the moral and political significance of the United Kingdom's Attorney-General appearing in person at the court in such a dubious cause. At a time

when this country is leading people by peaceful processes, wherever she can, and by great constitutional experiments towards self-government in her own Colonial and Trust Territories, South Africa has become notorious for her subversion of constitutional law, by packing the Senate, by circumventing her own courts, by altering the Constitution to deprive Coloured people of political rights which the Act of Union was intended to safeguard, and by defying the United Nations and previous opinions of the International Court on South West Africa. Thus it seemed strange in the solemnity of the highest Court in the world to hear the most eminent representative of British justice using all his forensic skill to try to restrict the almost non-existent opportunity which these unfortunate African people have of making their voices heard.

"South Africa was entrusted with S.W. Africa as a 'sacred trust of civilization' for and on behalf of His Britannic Majesty'. It was the treatment of these African people by Germany which prompted Britain, the United States, and other principal Allied Powers to create the whole system of international accountability in order to ensure that they would never suffer such ill-treatment again. Surely the efforts of Her Majesty's Government today would be better directed towards trying to hold South Africa true to her moral obligations to the African people and to civilization than engaged in such legal disputation with the United States on the precise legal definition of 'this sacred trust of civilization'."

## HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES General

### Transfer of Protectorates—Compromise with Britain Suggested

A NUMBER of reports have come recently from South Africa suggesting that the Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, during his visit to Britain for the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in June, would suggest that the British and South African Governments should co-operate in forming a condominium.

In an article in *Dagbreek en Sondagnuis* (March 4, 1956), Professor D. W. Kruger, of Potchefstroom University, wrote that even a superficial observation of public opinion in Britain and a study of the official documents of the United Nations made it clear that not all criticism of the Union was based on mere ignorance and prejudice. "The fact is that both in England and in U.N. circles, there are well informed people whose criticism is based on a profound difference of principle with us. They have a detailed knowledge of the facts with regard to the *apartheid* policy and they have made a thorough study of the history of South Africa . . . There is no doubt too that informed circles regard the Union and especially the Afrikaner's viewpoint with sympathy but nevertheless reject it on principle. This is also the case with friends and admirers of our people". Great Britain and the Netherlands supported S.A. at the U.N. but this did not reflect public opinion in those countries. "Indeed, I have nowhere encountered such biting criticism of the Union's policy as

<sup>1</sup>See "Separate Opinion of Judge Klaestad, Advisory Opinion" of June 7, 1955 (Page 87 seq.).

just in our country of origin, the Netherlands, for there they almost generally confuse our practice of racial separation with the hated Nazi's theory of race superiority. In this regard it makes one laugh to hear indignant former Nazis moralize about our policy." The British Government valued the Union's strategic position in the Commonwealth and its economic co-operation. "They do not want to estrange us and perhaps something positive can come out of that attitude." But any British Government, Labour or Conservative, which proposed to hand over the Protectorates to the Union would suffer certain defeat. On the other hand, the Trusteeship Committee of the U.N.O. would sooner or later insist on the Protectorates being placed under its supervision. In the long run, Britain could not refuse such a demand and critics and advocates of direct interference would have a starting point in the heart of the Union. This would have fatal effects on the racial separation between the Union and British Governments on the basis of mixed control of the Protectorates. "In my opinion, the only solution lies in a compromise."

## Bechuanaland

### Parliamentary Investigation Refused

Mr. F. BROCKWAY (Labour) was told in the House of Commons that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations was satisfied that an investigation by a British all-party parliamentary delegation into the administration of Bechuanaland and particularly within the Bamangwato tribe, since the banishment of Seretse Khama, would not be in the interests of the people of the Protectorate.

Mr. Brockway also asked what action was proposed as a result of inquiries into evidence that girls, boys and women had been publicly flogged in *kgotlas* in Bechuanaland and that men and women had been handcuffed and chained to lion traps and trees. Replying Commander Noble, Under-Secretary, said that the native authority in the Bamangwato Reserve had been asked to remind his subordinates that corporal punishment of women was forbidden; the position throughout the Protectorate was being investigated. In the absence of lock-ups, tribal authorities had to secure prisoners, who were likely to abscond; this means of restraint was used only when it was absolutely necessary. (*The Times*, May 11, 1956.)

On February 13 in reply to similar questions from Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Commander Noble mentioned a minor disturbance at a village in the Bamangwato Reserve in November, 1955, and to a drunken brawl at Gweta in December, 1955 when two women assaulted a tribal policeman and were subsequently sentenced to receive two strokes each. This sentence was administered in *kgotla* according to Native law and custom.

## EAST AFRICA Kenya

### Proposed Constitutional Changes

THE European Elected Members of the Kenya Legislature have put forward a plan for ten new members to be elected on a

regional basis as regional members, comprising five Europeans, two Africans, one Asian Muslim, one Asian non-Muslim, and one Arab. The intention is that regional candidates should be persons prepared to cross the floor if offered Ministerial appointment, and therefore the existing Ministers will probably stand as regional candidates in September. In time, observers say, the regional system might evolve a senate with some form of common roll. Another proposal is for two "corporate members" to represent commerce and agriculture—to be, in the first instance, Europeans. They would be nominated by the Board of Commerce and Industry and the Board of Agriculture respectively. Corporate members would also be available for Ministerial appointments, but would otherwise sit with the Opposition.

It is further proposed that two additional African constituency members be provided. There would thus be seven Europeans and seven non-Europeans added to the present council and "parity"—whereby the number of European elected members is equal to the combined total of unofficial representatives of other races—would be maintained.

### African Views

A Press statement issued by nine Kenya Africans in London on April 15 condemned the European proposals. It said: "As the African members of the present Legislature are nominees of the Governor we hold it unfair both to them and to the Africans of Kenya to involve them in any negotiations of such far reaching significance without the necessary mandate of their constituencies, without which any agreement they may reach will not be considered by Africans in any way morally binding on them. Since the banning of the Kenya African Union in 1953 and the consequent suppression through the pressure of European politicians of all forms of political activity among the Africans, there has been no representative organization to voice African opinion.

"We, therefore, feel that to embark on constitutional changes on the lines suggested by the European elected members would be unwise until Africans have been elected to the legislature and until there are African organizations able freely to express the views of Africans as a whole. Mr. E. A. Vasey, the Finance Minister in the Government of Kenya, has on several occasions suggested a conference between representative leaders of all the races to discuss constitutional changes. We consider this the most constructive suggestion yet made.

"There are at the moment six African members in the Legislative Council representing 5½ million Africans. It is physically impossible for an African member to keep in touch with and care for his constituency with any degree of satisfaction. There is, therefore, a good case for increasing African representation to enable each African member to have a smaller and a more manageable constituency with which he can effectively keep in touch. However, while we welcome the European suggestion for more African members, we cannot but deplore the suggestion that to achieve so-called parity the Legislature should be packed with another seven Europeans. The present elected Europeans (14 in all for a population of 40,000) have smaller constituencies. This makes the Europeans by comparison more adequately represented than either the Africans or the Asians. The population of the latter which comprises 120,000 are represented by six members. European politicians in Kenya like to tell the world that African politicians seek Black domination.

By insisting on European and non-European parity, and by not conceding an increase in African representation without a corresponding European increase to retain such parity, the European elected members, including those who pay lip service to multi-racialism, are demonstrating for all the world to see, their determination to keep Kenya in everything but name—a White man's country."

Amongst the signatories were Mr. Tom Mboya, General Secretary of the Kenya Federation and Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Secretary of the Kenya Africa Union at the time it was banned.

Mr. T. Mboya also said, in a letter to the Colonial Secretary and to the Governor of Kenya: "The principle of parity between Europeans and non-Europeans is no longer acceptable to the Africans. There can be no justification for adhering to this pattern in Kenya when Uganda and Tanganyika have advanced so far beyond it". In the demand for more ministerial portfolios he saw "a device aimed at transferring power from the Colonial Office to the European dominated Kenya Government." Referring to the lack of organizations through which African public opinion can be expressed, Mr. Mboya pointed out that "because one individual African Member felt he could take part in the new form of Government (the Lyttleton Plan), the entire population was arbitrarily committed to the new constitution." He said it would be "a great tragedy for Kenya's future if the Colonial Office were to accede to current European proposals".

African unofficial members of the Kenya Legislature stated that they were in general agreement with the proposals made by the European elected members, on condition that all four new African members (two new representative members and two "regional" members) were elected by constituencies. A further condition for acceptance of the proposals is that two of the new African members be appointed before September, and the other two before the end of December.

The leader of the African unofficial members, Mr. Eliud Mathu, said a third main proposal appeared to be for four (elected) European Ministers (instead of three at present), two African Ministers (instead of one at present), and two Asian Ministers, all elected. They felt strongly that the additional African Minister should be appointed immediately after the African elections which are to be held at the beginning of next year. (*The Times*, April 17, 1956.)

#### *European Views*

The United Country Party,<sup>1</sup> which supports Mr. Michael Blundell, considers any increase now in the Council of Ministers is undesirable. The party's view is that the acceptance by the British Government of the principle of elected Ministers was the beginning of the transfer of responsibility. It is therefore essential, it says, that agreement should be sought now among the various racial groups on the further constitutional steps that must be taken to achieve increased local responsibility.

After the impending elections the Party will be prepared to consider adjustments in the composition of the Council of Ministers. Such adjustments might result in the numbers of elected Ministers being increased to four Europeans, two Asians, and two Africans.

The Council of Ministers at present consists of six members of the Colonial Service, three elected and two nominated Europeans, two Asians and one African. Voting in the

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST II, 4.

European and Asian elections will take place between September 21 and October 3, 1956. African elections will be within the following six months.

#### **European Security Committee Proposal**

Colonel Ewart Grogan, a European elected member of the Legislature, later disclosed at the annual meeting of the European Union, that most of his colleagues accept the constitutional changes proposed, subject only to what he described as a "most vital proviso". He said: "We have civilian control under the Governor and military control under the Commander-in-Chief. We shall insist, when dual control ceases and normal rule reverts to the civilian element, that the War Council—which does in fact control the country—be altered, or rather merged, into some sort of security committee which would have complete control of external security, internal security, and the ancillary services of the colony."

This proposal, Colonel Grogan said, had been approved in "very high places". It was obvious that it would be quite impossible for such a body to include any Asians or Africans, because external security involved the most strict security imaginable in the ordinary transactions of the country today. If this were achieved, and he had every hope that it would be, he thought that unity among the Europeans would also be achieved. (*The Times*, May 16, 1956.)

African representatives in the Legislative Council said that the proposal for an inner Cabinet or security committee composed entirely of Europeans in peace-time was not acceptable to the African Community.

The existing War Council was not part of the constitution and in their view should be disbanded at the end of the emergency. They said: "We realize that the Governor may wish to seek advice on security matters from a group of persons, and we are of the opinion that the Minister of Defence and Internal Security and the Minister of Legal Affairs can fulfil this rôle through the Council of Ministers".

The statement added that African members had supported the proposals to increase the unofficial representation in the Legislature as an immediate adjustment to the Lyttelton plan, knowing only too well that they would not benefit from them. In fact, the disparity between European and African unofficial members would be widened.

There had been no support from Europeans for the African counter-suggestions; unless these were carried out, the African members would have achieved nothing substantial for their community as a result of the proposed changes. Consequently they were prepared to leave matters where they were until 1960, "when Africans will put forward their constitutional proposals without their hands being tied by the unreasonable Lyttelton standstill. There must be no question of extending the standstill beyond 1960."

The statement went on to say that one of these African proposals would certainly be to break European parity with non-Europeans and possibly reverse the present position, both in unofficial representation in the Legislative Council and in the Council of Ministers, of the elected members or that part of them which Colonel Grogan had described as the majority "which would lead Africans and Asians to extremism by their being unnecessarily unreasonable.

"We think that at this juncture the British Government should intervene in this controversial matter of the future con-

stitution of Kenya, as Africans feel that they are being dominated by Europeans far too much." (*The Times*, May 17, 1956.)

### The Election Issue

Mr. Michael Blundell, the Minister for Agriculture, in the course of an address to the Rift Valley Electors' Organization, said that voters at the General Election would have to decide whether they desired isolationism and the rejection of European leadership, or progress on the basis of European leadership and co-operation with other races . . .

Kenya was backward in skills and the only answer was to get them through immigration. The criteria must be the economic needs of the Colony, protection of the rights of Kenya's own young people to get jobs in the country, and the full acceptance, in any immigration policy, that Kenya was a British Colony and that the British way of life must be followed. That meant that immigration must be from Britain or British territories. It would be essential to reduce and eliminate Asian immigration.

Stability must be achieved, and only minor constitutional changes should be considered. There were only three possible courses—a return to Colonial Office rule, a form of coalition government, or partition. He was unequivocally opposed to a return to Colonial Office rule because it would place policy in Kenya at the whim of party politics in Britain. It would also be a denial of the capacity of the settled European community to play a proper part in public affairs. He believed that a government containing a strong element representative of the European community would govern wisely and well, without racial prejudice or bitterness.

Mr. Blundell said that he rejected partition, or provincial autonomy absolutely.

Dealing with the coalition form of Government, Mr. Blundell said that if the experiment worked, it might be the solution to Kenya's problems. The Lyttelton constitution had been the start of the transfer of real responsibility, and showed the acceptance by people in Britain that Kenya people had the right to take part in the Government of the country. There must be a European majority and European control, and he was not in favour of the dilution of the Government *ad lib* on a racial basis, nor of extending Asian influence in the Executive. It was not possible to have a dual nationality or dual loyalties—one to the Queen and Kenya, and the other to an overseas republic. However he added that Asians had a stake in Kenya and a common problem with the European farmer in facing the future development of the cry "Africa for the Africans".

Mr. Blundell said the share of Africans in government must be limited to their capacity to take part. It was only wise, therefore, to give them a clear hope of advancement and to teach them the responsibilities of development and government. He was resolutely opposed to any attempt by any extremist section to wrest power for itself alone. He was opposed also to common schools and believed parents had the right to say they wished to have their children educated among others of the same race outlook. He believed that a common roll would be "extremely dangerous to minority communities" and favoured the retention of communal rolls. There was a need to go slow in the multi-racial form of Government. Under certain circumstances he would not object to four European, two Asian and two African Ministers, one of the last to be Minister Without Portfolio.

Asked how he suggested one could cope with the growing demand by non-White races for more representation, Mr. Blundell said the aim should be a situation where Europeans became leaders of all the country and not only of their own race . . . The greatest effort must be made to inculcate into the African a strong sense of responsibility. Mr. Blundell said that he believed the time would come when Africans would have to be told: "So far and no further". (*East African Standard*, March 12, 1956.)

### Statement by an Asian Minister

The Hon. Mr. A. B. Patel, the senior Asian Minister in the Kenya Cabinet, who has announced his intention of withdrawing entirely from public life, said in a speech in Nairobi (April 12, 1956), "Statements in recent weeks made by certain prominent Europeans in the press and on platform have done, without doubt, a great deal of harm to the spirit of racial co-operation and goodwill which was being built up during the last two years or more. These statements have left the minds of Asians, and I believe also of Africans, wondering if these non-official Europeans are capable of giving a correct lead to this country and its people as they often assert they are entitled and wish to do. After taking note of these statements, the Asians and Africans will be justified in coming to the conclusion that until this country reaches a stage when non-European people could exert effective influence in Government and administration of this country, any further transfer of power which will be predominantly exercised by unofficial Europeans will not be in the best interests of this country . . .

"Indians strongly believe that without any mental reservations or hesitations of any kind, the law of the country and administrative practice must now be so adjusted and worked as to give equal opportunity to every person, irrespective of race religion or sex, to acquire merit, ability, and qualification by education or otherwise. And when any person acquires necessary merit and ability, he should be allowed, without any discrimination whatsoever, to rise to any position and to acquire any status which his merit and ability will justify . . .

"Any attempt to impose leadership on the basis of race and to the exclusion of any racial group to provide to the country leaders on the basis of merit and ability must and will be strenuously resisted. In the absence of unequivocal acceptance of the principle of merit and ability for providing leaders in various aspects of the life of this country, the numerical strength is likely to begin to press home the claim for leadership at an early date with all its implications . . ."

Mr. Patel said that Indians believe that early steps must be taken for introduction of common citizenship with equal rights to all, irrespective of race, religion or sex, and that the principle of a common electoral roll should be accepted for political representation. He suggested a beginning could be made by 1960 by providing a certain number of members in the Legislative Council of Kenya to be elected under a system of common roll with a qualified franchise. The present communal seats could then be continued, with a periodical review of the situation, the reduction of the number of communal seats and increase of the number of members elected under a common Electoral Roll until the communal roll is completely eliminated. He added: "The Indian community strongly believes that there is no justification whatsoever for retaining in any form racial discrimination in regard to acquisition of land either in town-

ship or for agricultural purposes. However, they see the necessity that during the present economic conditions of the African community protection should be afforded to them in regard to their holding of agricultural land and township plots, because there is always a danger of immigrant people buying them out."

With regard to Asian immigration, Mr. Patel said the attitude of the European leaders that a foreigner should receive preference over Indians and Pakistanis who are British Subjects or Commonwealth citizens cannot, under any circumstances, be tolerated.

"Some Europeans," he added, "try to give the impression that unofficial Europeans are the only people who are responsible for the development of the country. They also overlook the fact that without the initiative and assistance of the United Kingdom Government, Civil Servants from the U.K. and constant help by British taxpayers, nothing worthwhile could have been achieved . . .

"All races are here to stay. We have the option to choose either to stay here by helping in evolving a spirit of joint adventure and co-operation by goodwill and by recognizing merit and ability of a person in preference to his race, or to stay here on the basis of a racial scramble for power and consequent clash. The Indians without hesitation have chosen to stand for evolving a spirit of joint adventure and co-operation on the basis of merit and ability of a person free from any racial discrimination."

### Comment in Britain

Writing in *The National Newsletter* (April 19, 1956) Sir Stephen King-Hall said: "The European and Asian minorities in Kenya may find themselves in a perilous position through the inevitable growth of African representation on the African voters' roll. Mr. Blundell is reported to have said that 'a common roll would be extremely dangerous to minority communities'.

"His assumption that communal electoral rolls will not be more dangerous seems to depend upon how much faith one can put in the likelihood of another of his remarks being practical politics. I refer to his observation that he believed that the time would come when Africans would have to be told 'So far and no farther'. If I lived in Kenya this would make me think of King Canute. Mr. Blundell is no die-hard, and talks of co-operation between the races, but if the idea he advanced, that he would cope with the growing demand by non-White races for more representation, by 'arriving at a situation where Europeans became leaders of all the country and not only of their own race' is his final thought on the subject of leadership, the outlook is not very hopeful.

"Another point which is sometimes overlooked in discussions on franchise qualifications is that sound political judgement is not automatically to be found amongst surtax payers, big business-men, or even intellectuals. An illiterate peasant in Europe, a shepherd on the downs, a bus conductor in London, or an African in a tribal area may be very well qualified to choose a representative. Mass democracy in the West has many lessons to learn, and the only school which is practical is the voting booth. The difficulty in multi-racial societies which faces the European is the need to take risks in order to avoid disaster."

*East Africa and Rhodesia* (April 19, 1956) commented that for a considerable period after Mr. Blundell's election as leader

of the European elected members the newspaper had supported him without reservation. It had however been driven to the conclusion that his vacillation and procrastination seriously endangered the cause which he proclaimed, and made inevitable a deep split in the European political front.

"Mr. Blundell has had the right ideas. What he has lacked has been the nerve, the nerve to stake all on his convictions, the nerve repeatedly shown by Lord Malvern in Rhodesia to go down fighting rather than compromise on fundamentals, the nerve which is a hallmark of true leadership."

### Council for Self-Government

Air Commodore E. L. Howard-Williams has been appointed Chairman of a four-man council for Self-Government. Results of a referendum to which 9,758 replies were received had shown, according to Air Commodore Howard-Williams, that there was "overwhelming opposition" to multi-racialism. Candidates who stood at the next election for self-government and who agreed that Europeans were "here to stay", and to lead the African and the Asian, would have sure support.

The council would not be a political party, he said. By example alone, it would encourage the formation of separate, if similar, bodies in each electoral area. Some of these would be completely independent. They would be concerned solely with their own views and problems and, in due course, with the choice of their own elected members in their own way.

### Nairobi District African Congress<sup>1</sup>

The Nairobi District African Congress held its first public meeting on May 19. The association originally failed to secure Government recognition because its proposed constitution suggested an intention to speak on behalf of Africans throughout the colony, whereas Government policy is to confine such organizations, at this stage of their development, to a district basis. After making changes in line with official policy, the Congress was later recognized as a Nairobi association only.

In a policy statement the Congress said that it will persistently urge upon the Government the wisdom of permitting Africans to air their political grievances and aspirations freely and responsibly. "We maintain that the initiative in bringing African political activities into the foreground should be taken by the Government with whom we shall always co-operate without at any time surrendering our legitimate principles to any unforeseeable pressure from any quarter, including administrative quarters."

The statement referred to what is called "African misrepresentation" on all councils of state and local government bodies, and expressed Congress opposition to "Kenya traditional practice of making councillors and legislators of certain classes of Africans who are so ill-equipped that they are merely used as an enlarged picture on the wall."

The Congress advocates adult suffrage, and states that "while we feel that the introduction of a common electoral roll is inevitable in the distant future we cannot support that theory *ad interim* for the simple reason the African people have not as yet been rewarded with adult suffrage, which we regard as the first and inviolable blessing of British democracy."

On the land question and the "evils of urbanization" the policy statement said the authorities continue to close their eyes

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 6.

to the fact that many urbanized Africans would prefer to settle permanently in urban areas. The Congress proposed a pilot urban settlement scheme.

Referring to immigration, the statement said the Congress would resist the admission of European refugees and displaced persons and will urge that Africans be given an effective voice in deciding who are desirable immigrants.

*The Times* (May 14, 1956) commented that this was one of the most comprehensive and important statements yet published of the aims and opinions of educated urbanized Africans. The Congress was certain rapidly to take a prominent place in African political life: though legally regarded only as a district organization, its views and actions would exercise a much wider influence.

### Threat to Federation of Labour Withdrawn<sup>1</sup>

The Kenya Government announced on April 4 that it did not intend to ban the Kenya Federation of Labour since the Federation had given assurances "to respect the legal requirements which continued registration demands."

In a letter to the Registrar of Societies, the General Council of the Federation said that "In view of the range of activities which are accepted as being without question the legitimate concern of the Federation, we believe that prior consultation between the Federation and the Government in regard to any marginal matters will avoid a repetition of present difficulties."

The letter refers to the point that officers of the Federation should not engage in political activities in the name of, or with the authority of, the Federation, and added: "We feel we have already gone further than the assurance which is sought, in that on January 27, nearly a month before the present problem arose, the Federation decided that no trade union official in his representative trade union capacity should take part in any political organization. It follows that officers of the Federation must not in the name of the Federation engage in political activities inconsistent with the foregoing paragraphs." (*The Times*, April 5, 1956.)

In the House of Commons, Mrs. Barbara Castle (Labour) asked: "Is it not now quite clear that the Kenya Federation of Labour has always been within its legal rights in expressing opinions on such matters as African franchise, African education, and other related issues, for doing which it has been recently attacked?" Mr. Aneurin Bevan (Labour) asked: "How can the trade union operate in this matter when so narrow an interpretation is placed upon its powers? It is a kind of blue pencil on the union all the time and it does not know what to do."

The Minister of State for the Colonies, Mr. John Hare, said that this was an exaggeration of the facts. "Kenya is under an emergency, and the law of the country has laid down in the Emergency (Societies) Regulation, 1956, that African political associations should be confined to district and local areas and not be Colony-wide. This is a part of regulations which are necessary as long as the emergency continues."

*The New Statesman and Nation* (April 19, 1956) commented: "The decision of the Kenya Government not to ban the Federation of Labour after all is a tribute to the timely intervention of Sir Vincent Tewson and the T.U.C. This unseemly

incident reflects the unstable state of the political scene in Kenya today . . .

"It is equally obvious from this incident, and from the prohibition of national political organizations of Africans, that members of the Government itself still labour under the illusion that they can control African politics and regiment the politicians. Everybody knows that genuine trade unionists must be free to express a trade union view on political matters. Members of the Kenya Government will have to learn that political ideas, too, cannot be held on reins."

### Changes in Immigration Policy

Important changes in the Kenya Government's immigration policy are proposed in a Sessional Paper tabled in the Legislature today. The existing multi-racial control board and the appeals tribunal both disappear. In view of the developments towards a more representative form of government, the board is no longer considered necessary. The Government assumes responsibility for immigration control through the principal immigration officer, who will act on the directions of the Council of Ministers.

The Sessional Paper declares that it is necessary to encourage the entry of capital and people with special experience, ability, and skill, but the process must not be allowed to prejudice the chances of employment or economic opportunities either of the existing population or of those who are expected to enter the labour market in the next five years.

Instead of the negative principle that an immigrant's trade, profession, or business must not prejudice the inhabitants, the new policy proposes the positive principle that an immigrant's occupation should be in the interest of the inhabitants. This is in accordance with the Royal Commission's report, but the Government is unable to accept without reservation the Commission's view that the test should be the contribution an immigrant might make to the development of the colony's economy, not the inconvenience he might occasion established interests.

The paper concludes by emphasizing that the Government regards Britain as the "primary source of immigrants of the kind the colony needs. It is the intention of the Government to turn elsewhere only to the extent that the country's needs cannot reasonably be met from the United Kingdom."

While the new policy is racially non-discriminatory, it is clearly intended to give more effective control of Asian migrants competing with the emerging Africans, but at the same time not to deprive the colony of such essential workers as Indian artisans during the current building boom and industrial expansion while the Africans are being trained. (*The Times*, April 18, 1956.)

### Restrictions on Meru Relaxed

The Kenya Government is to relax the restrictions on the Meru people, imposed because of their associations with Mau Mau, as quickly as possible, according to the Minister for African Affairs, Mr. E. H. Windley.

In answer to a question from Mr. Eliud Mathu, Mr. Windley said that the Meru's active co-operation with the security forces in recent months had been a big factor in the Government's success in eliminating terrorists in the area. (*East African Standard*, March 8, 1956.)

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

## Executions Under the Emergency

The following table of executions carried out since the beginning of the Emergency was given by the Minister of State for the Colonies in reply to a written question from Mr. Fenner Brockway (Labour).

Charges	Period			Total 20/10/52 to 31/9/56
	20/10/52 to 19/7/55	20/7/55 to 31/12/55	1/1/56 to 31/3/56	
Murder . . . . .	257	32	8	297
Unlawful possession of fire-arms . . . . .	288	32	17	337
Unlawful possession† of ammunition and explosives . . . . .	87	8	—	95
Consorting with terrorists . . . . .	219	3	—	222
Oath offences . . . . .	48	4	2	54
Furthering terrorism* . . . . .	8	—	—	8
Demanding supplies for terrorists* . . . . .	2	—	—	2
Totals . . . . .	909	79	27	1,015

Note.—Offences marked \* and † ceased to be capital offences with effect from July 20, 1955, and January 1, 1956, respectively.

(*Hansard*, April 25, 1956.)

## Tanganyika

### Target Dates for Self-Government

A REPORT calling on Britain to lay down intermediate target dates for political independence for Tanganyika has been approved by the United Nations Trusteeship Council, despite strong British objections. The voting was 8 to 5, with 1 abstention. Joining Britain in voting against it were France, Belgium, Australia and New Zealand. Italy abstained. The United States voted with the majority against Britain.

Speaking in the debate on the proposal, the United Kingdom delegate, Sir Alan Burns, said that it would only revive a controversy, and that he could not understand the motives of those delegations which sought to provoke "a head-on clash with the Administering Authority". Timetables for political development were impossible to fix, for they could rest on nothing more than guess-work, and were therefore quite useless.

Explaining the United States vote for the recommendation, Mr. Benjamin Gerig said that in the light of conditions in Tanganyika the suggestion of intermediate targets might be of some value. "In saying this we remember that no country has done more than the United Kingdom in spreading over the world the basic concepts of freedom, rights of minorities, protection of individual rights, democratic processes of government, judicial procedures and a number of other basic foundations of free government," Mr. Gerig added.

### Common Roll Elections

The Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Edward Twining, at the opening of the new session of the Legislative Council in Dar es Salaam, said that proposals were well in hand for the introduction of common roll elections in certain constituencies in two years' time.

Each voter who has the necessary educational or other de-

fined qualification will be able to vote for a candidate of each race—European, African, and Asian—in view of parity representation in each constituency. (*The Times*, April 28, 1956.)

### T.A.N.U. Criticizes the United Tanganyika Party<sup>1</sup>

The U.T.P.'s manifesto has been sharply criticized by the Tanganyika African National Union. Mr. Julius Nyerere, T.A.N.U.'s President, in a statement to the Fabian Colonial Bureau, London, said that the influence the U.T.P. will have on the masses of the people of all races will depend on whether it "will be a democratic organization working towards a democratically self-governing Tanganyika or whether it will be the type of organization which would suit the partnership advocates of Central Africa, or at best the philosophers of the Capricorn Society. Judging from its statements of beliefs and aims we believe that the partnership it advocates will be the latter type of partnership and not a democratic partnership which recognizes the basic rights of the individual irrespective of his or her colour or creed."

"The U.T.P. pledges itself to maintain the present constitution and to accept only such developments and *innovations* as are compatible with the constitution until such time as the main races are more nearly formed *into one whole as responsible citizens of Tanganyika*, and have advanced further on the road to nationhood . . . .

"The major principle of our constitution, as everybody knows, is parity of representation on the unofficial side. Now, we don't believe that parity is so sacred that it should be *maintained*. Parity of representation was an expedient, and a very undemocratic expedient, and while we accept it for the moment, we do not accept it as a state of affairs to be maintained for a long time.

"But even if we were in favour of maintaining parity for a long time, we would advocate its maintenance until such time as *the majority of the people want a change*, but not until the *main races* as such either want a change or 'are more nearly formed into one whole.' Our approach would be democratic and not *racial*. In my view the U.T.P., in spite of its professions to the contrary, is the most *racial* party so far formed in Tanganyika . . . .

"One of the aims of the U.T.P. is to evolve the most suitable form of franchise for the circumstances of Tanganyika. Would the franchise they advocate be based on the Rhodesian principle of 'equal rights for all civilized men,' with the U.T.P. determining who are these 'Civilized Men'? Or would the U.T.P. be prepared to accept universal adult franchise as understood by our British Trustees?

"The U.T.P. pledges itself to 'resist all proposals which would lead to the domination of one racial group over the others.' One would like to know what the U.T.P. means by 'domination,' and its attitude to the fact that the Government of Tanganyika is at present in the hands of one racial group. What, for instance, is the attitude of the U.T.P. to parity of representation (i.e. on the unofficial side) and to the fact that the present Legislative Council has 31 Europeans, 16 Asians and 14 Africans?" (*Venture*, May, 1956.)

Mr. A. L. Le Maitre, a Nominated Member of the Legislative Council, told a meeting in Tanga that the U.T.P. had no

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

relationship with the Capricorn Society or any group outside Tanganyika. He said "The Capricorn Society is an excellent one with first-class ideas and motives but it advocated federation while we want Tanganyika for the Tanganyikans."

Mr. Le Maitre said that £5,000 a year had been guaranteed by members of the Tanganyika Unofficial Members Organization privately for three years, which was considered enough finance to start the party. (*East African Standard*, March 10, 1956.)

In a statement replying to T.A.N.U.'s criticisms, the U.T.P. points out that there can be no comparison between the two parties. T.A.N.U. openly bases its appeal on exclusive African nationalism, and the U.T.P. is a party open to all, whatever their race. Challenging T.A.N.U.'s demand for immediate elections, the U.T.P. said that this has no regard to the realities of Tanganyika's present state of political and economic advancement.

The *Kenya Weekly News* (April 20, 1956) commented: "All these preliminary skirmishes between the two parties-in-embryo are but manoeuvres for position in the preliminary stages of the political battle ahead—the battle between multi-racialism (and all that implies) and straightforward black nationalism".

### The Industrial Future

Considerable promise of an industrial future for Tanganyika is envisaged by Mr. C. B. Bisset, Director of the Geological Survey Department, in a paper outlining the case for industrialization and stressing the need for early development of communications across the Territory's central areas.

"Given adequate development of water supplies, sources of power and the means of transport, it is considered that Tanganyika has the necessary mineral resources to attain a fair degree of industrialization," he said.

Large deposits of coal, limestone, dolomite, soda and china clay are known to exist, while iron, titanium, copper, lead, salt, diamonds and cement materials are present, probably in large quantities . . .

Industrialization could succeed only if accompanied or preceded by the development of means of transport, water supplies, and sources of power. (*East African Standard*, March 10, 1956.)

### Technical Institute Planned

The Member for Social Services in the course of a letter to the Dar es Salaam Indian Merchants' Chamber said: "The plans for a technical institute in Dar es Salaam have been approved, and the foundation stone will be laid next month. The institute will provide courses in commercial education and will cater not only for full-time students but also for persons already in employment who wish to attend courses as part-time students." (*East African Standard*, March 28, 1956.)

## Uganda

### Programme for Constitutional Reforms

THE Governor, Sir Andrew Cohen, in his opening speech to the new session of the Uganda Legislative Council on April 24, outlined his Government's plans for certain constitutional reforms.

Direct elections to the Legislative Council, on a common roll, are to be introduced in 1961. He emphasized that 1961 had in no sense been accepted as a target date for self-government. Machinery would be set up in the next Legislative Council of 1958-61 to work out details of the franchise and a scheme to secure proper representation of non-African communities, within the system of a common roll, in a form acceptable to the Government and peoples of Uganda as well as Her Majesty's Government.

As a preliminary, the direct election of Buganda representative members may take place next year after a review of the electoral arrangements provided for in Article 7 of last year's Buganda agreement.<sup>1</sup> These elections in Buganda would only affect African representative members from Buganda and would not involve introduction of a common roll or make any other alteration in the composition of the Legislative Council.

A meeting of the Uganda National Congress on April 25, rejected the Governor's statement and sent a cable to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, saying that Britain would be directly responsible for anything that might happen as a result of Sir Andrew's Speech. This was followed by a second statement (*The Times*, May 14, 1956), which asked for the immediate appointment of a constitutional expert to advise on a common roll during the life of the present Council instead of the next. It also asked the Colonial Secretary to receive a delegation from Congress.

Congress also expressed their opposition to the holding of direct elections in Buganda.

### Buganda Government Policy

In a policy statement, the Buganda Government said that it was their intention to send many people overseas for technical education and to increase the facilities for technical education in Buganda. They would also encourage the teaching of "cultural subjects" in the schools and pay "great attention" to English instruction in primary schools.

Collective farming would be supported because of the increasing shortage of labour, and efforts would be made to raise the standards of crops so that Baganda farmers could compete in world markets. The production of meat and milk to meet the country's need would be encouraged.

Speakers in the Lukiko (on April 10) asked for renewed assurances from the British Government on the question of East African Federation. They said that the unification of many services in East Africa, such as railways, postal services, income tax, and currency, was a means of bringing about a future federation and therefore that the British Government's assurances that there would be no such federation should be expressed in such measure as providing Uganda with its own postage stamps and currency. (*Manchester Guardian*, April 16, 1956.)

Opening the Lukiko session, the Kabaka of Buganda said that some of the people were trying to exploit religion for political ends, and that it was important that the Baganda should not allow their religious beliefs to influence political judgements. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, April 19, 1956.)

### Review of African Education

Director of Education, Mr. D. S. Miller, has reviewed the

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 3.

first three years' working of the eight-year African education development plan. The plan, which was based on the recommendations of the De Bunsen Committee on education, involves spending £8 million from the African Development Fund. It was originally intended to last over a five-year period, but this was subsequently extended to eight years. The total recurrent cost to be reimbursed from the African Development Fund during the eight years was estimated at about £6½ million—which would leave just under £1½ million for capital projects.

### Medical Inquiry Report

A Committee of Inquiry into Uganda's medical and health services, headed by Dr. A. C. Frazer of Birmingham University, has reported to the Legislative Council. While recommending the improvement of services, the Report points out that the National Health Service in Britain costs £20 million a year per 5 million people and that since only £1½ million is available for the 5 million people of Uganda, it is unrealistic to imagine that anything resembling the health services in Britain can be reproduced in Uganda.

The Report recommends that closer relationship should be established between mission medical services, private practitioners and the Medical Department. The formation of a separate Ministry of Health and African Housing (which at present comes under the Ministry of Social Services) should be seriously considered. A committee should be set up to overhaul the whole system of collecting statistics.

It is pointed out that despite limited resources of finance and manpower, Government hospital services have attained a high standard. However the European and Asian communities are poorly served outside the large towns. Each district hospital should therefore have a paying ward which would be open to all races. For the poorer members of the European and Asian communities a hospital contributory scheme might be considered.

There is an acute shortage of nurses. Government hospitals employ 105 registered nurses and could readily use four or five times that number. There was an immediate demand for fifty-eight midwives and twenty nurse midwives to staff maternity units. At the minimum, the addition of 173 nursing orderlies and 123 medical assistants was required. There was approximately one doctor to every 20,000 of the population. The number of Africans being trained as doctors is inadequate and everything should be done to ensure that Makerere Medical School turns out twenty Uganda doctors a year. If Makerere cannot do this, other arrangements should be made.

The sum allocated for medical services in the 1955-56 Budget is 7·3 per cent of the total expenditure. The proportion should be of the order of 10 per cent or 11 per cent. An immediate increase of £280,000 is suggested for the year 1956-57, rising to an increase of £700,000 in 1960-61. No estimate is made of the capital expenditure which the committee's recommendations would entail.

The policy of providing free treatment in Government medical units should be re-examined and consideration given to the levying of a small charge, say, of one shilling. This charge should not be applicable in the case of certain people, such as the genuinely poor, the emergency case, or groups such as young children. (*Department of Information, Uganda.*)

## General

### Revenue for the High Commission

SPEAKERS from three East African territories in the Central Legislative Assembly recently discussed the view put forward by the Finance Member, Mr. J. C. Mundy, that the High Commission should have its own revenue.

Opposition to the proposal came from Mr. J. T. Simpson (Uganda) who said this would again create suspicions which many of them had tried to correct. Mr. Maini (Uganda) said he was doubtful whether it would be possible to go very far with the suggestion of the Assembly's having its own revenue. There were many points to be considered, and one was the present "political climate" in East Africa.

Sir Charles Phillips (Tanganyika) said his country was desperately in need of money for development and felt that both the other East African Territories were proceeding at a far greater pace and had greater financial resources. Many people in Tanganyika felt that the contributions made to the High Commission were long-range contributions and not of immediate benefit to the Territory. There were those who felt that if the money could be applied to development in the Territory, much speedier results would be achieved. Sir Charles personally supported the Finance Member's proposal and added that the methods by which such revenue was raised should be worked out between the various territories and the High Commission.

## Zanzibar

### Caution Recommended

COMMENTING on the decision of the Arab members of the Legislative Council to resume their seats in the Council, the *Manchester Guardian* (March 24, 1956) said: "But we are not out of the wood yet. The Arabs have returned to the council; but they have not yet agreed to the new draft, even as amplified by Mr. Coutts, nor for that matter has the Sultan. It is possible that the Sultan will think that it brings in election too soon; or that the Arab Association will think that it does not carry the elective principle far enough. The association's original demand went a good way beyond what is now under consideration. It included, for instance, a majority of non-official members, which is not yet in sight, and self-government within five years. Can the association wait a bit longer for the next step? It is understood to think, in any case, that the common-roll members should number more than six, and that the other non-official members should be nominated to represent different interests, such as agriculture, commerce, or labour, rather than different racial groups. It does not seem likely that the Government can go so far to meet them."

### Aid from U.N.

Additional health workers for Zanzibar and Pemba will be trained in a three-year programme to be supported by an allocation of over £5,000 from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Part of this sum will be used to provide transport and microscopes needed to undertake a specialized survey of the Protectorate as first step in a future anti-malaria campaign. The Zanzibar Government is expected to spend £10,000 on this programme over the three-year period.

The aim of the training programme will be to produce rural health workers, public health inspectors and health visitors, as well as supervisors for disease control projects. (*East African Standard*, April 4, 1956.)

## Somaliland

### Outcome of Talks with Ethiopia<sup>1</sup>

A JOINT statement by the Ethiopian Foreign Ministry and the mission led by Mr. A. D. Dodds-Parker, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the recent discussions, says views were exchanged about relations between Ethiopia and the Somaliland protectorate. The parties discussed in particular the working of the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1954, with special reference to the problems which were left unresolved at Harar four months ago, and identity of views was reached on the steps to be taken to settle some of these difficulties.

Many problems of common interest in the wider international field were also said to have been reviewed, and it was found that the views of the two Governments were in general agreement. It was agreed to keep in close touch and it was hoped that further talks on such problems could be held from time to time.

As a sequel to the talks, it is learnt that Emperor Haile Selassie is seriously considering giving "full clemency" to the British-protected Somali chief, Mohammed Begorreh, who was sentenced to two years' imprisonment earlier this year and subsequently had his sentence reduced to eighteen months. The improvement in the chief's prospects is believed to reflect British intercession; Mr. Dodds-Parker has expressed the British Government's appreciation for the Emperor's new undertaking. (*The Times*, April 26, 1956.)

It was subsequently announced, in the House of Commons (May 14) that Mohammed Begorreh had been pardoned.

### British Parliamentary Delegation's Visit

The British Parliamentary Delegation to Ethiopia, led by Mr. Dodds-Parker, visited Hargeisa for three days before proceeding to Addis Ababa. They held discussions at Government House and met Somali leaders. Before the latter meeting opened the N.U.F. held a mass demonstration outside the building protesting against the return of the Haud and Reserved Areas. More than 10,000 men, women and children took part in the demonstration. Many carried banners and slogans. At the meeting five elders spoke on behalf of the Somali people. They all made the common point that they had trusted the British Government with the protection of themselves and their land and that without consultation a large portion of their land had been handed over to Ethiopia. They asked Her Majesty's Government to do all in its power to restore to the Somali people their land.

Mr. Michael Mariano also spoke on the question of developing the country for self-government. He said that "the friendship and goodwill of Great Britain will be judged from the manner in which it acts, namely:

(1) in bringing about the restoration of the Reserved Area and Haud;

(2) in the speed and measure of development of the Somali-

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

land Protectorate towards Independence within the Commonwealth; and

(3) in bringing about a united Somaliland."

Mr. Mariano added that "in these days of rapid change and shifting loyalties there was no room for leisurely considerations".

In reply, Mr. Dodds-Parker thanked the speakers and congratulated them on the way they put it in view of the importance they attached to land and the problems arising from it. During the course of ten years in the Sudan he had worked with nomads, and had learnt what their grazing meant to them. He gave assurances of Mr. Lennox-Boyd's interest in these problems and the wish of the British Government to serve the interests of the people of Somaliland.

With regard to the future of Somaliland, Mr. Dodds-Parker said this was beyond his mission and he hoped the Governor would be able to tell them the views of Her Majesty's Government in about a month's time. (*War Somali Sidhi*, April 21, 1956.)

## CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

### Federal Government Policy on Partnership

LORD MALVERN, the Prime Minister, was asked in the Federal Assembly to explain more fully the aspects of Federal Government Policy mentioned in a letter referred to in the *Rhodesia Herald* (January 27, 1956). In reply he said: "I must first repeat the question I was asked and the reply I gave.

"Question (a) was: Does the Party that at present is the Federal Government accept as its basic policy that, within the multi-racial governance of the Federation, decisive power must, in the comparatively near future, pass into the hands of the Africans?

"The answer was: 'No, of course not.'

"Question (b) was: Does the Party accept, as its basic policy, the principle of Two Trusteeships, namely: 1. The Trusteeship held by the Whites of the Federation over the country on behalf of the Commonwealth and Western Christian civilization for the country's development for the benefit of its inhabitants and the rest of the world; and

The Trusteeship held by the Whites of the Federation over the Black race within the Federation, the Africans, for their progress and advancement within the terms of Christian and Western civilization?

"The answer I gave was: Trusteeship is another word which is capable of more than one interpretation. We have for example to consider its meaning in relation to the 'United Nations Trusteeship Territories.' A trustee is someone who holds something in trust for someone else. The usual implication is that the trustee steps out of the picture when his services are no longer required. This is its usual connotation when applied to territories.

"We as Europeans have no intention of stepping out of the picture which is why the word 'partnership' is much preferable. If and when Africans are in a position to contribute more to the

partnership, so can they have a greater share in it. But they can never become more than equal partners with the Europeans. The reference to partnership in the Preamble to the Constitution should be read with the other words contained in Section (e) of this Preamble, especially the words that precede the word 'Partnership'. Incidentally these words are to the effect that the association of the territories in a Federation 'would conduce to the security, advancement and welfare of all their inhabitants, and in particular would foster partnership.'

"You will note that I rejected Trusteeship in favour of Partnership.

"The Questioner misinterpreted my answer and feared the eventual domination of the Black race. This is to ignore the explanation I gave of the policy of partnership, which concedes that in the distant future the Africans may earn the right to become equal partners, which means they could have a half share in the partnership, but never more than that. At present, although in the minority, the Europeans do dominate because they have been christianized for many centuries and have been more or less civilized for a long time, and they therefore provide virtually all the professional and technical skills, the moral standards, the experience of government, in fact almost everything, with the exception of manual labour, necessary to run and develop a modern civilized state. The preponderantly important position of the European is therefore on the basis of merit, not colour and we recognize that merit is not the prerogative of any one race.

"Our policy is the only alternative between the extreme poles of permanent White domination and eventual Black domination.

"We are at present endeavouring to frame a franchise law that will indicate to the Africans that they will have an increasing share in Government when and to the extent that they earn the right, but which will at the same time 'conduce to the security, advancement and welfare of all the inhabitants'. Universal suffrage for instance would have the reverse effect; there would be no security or advancement for any race.

"We have to go gradually and try to carry both main sections of the population with us so that before the question of political parity arises, the two groups are divided on party lines, not racial; when that stage is reached policy and merit will be the deciding factor regardless of colour.

"This is looking a long way ahead; but if and when the time arrives and the races have not been brought together by the goodwill and good behaviour of both the European and the African, then I presume our descendants will take steps to see that the African cannot dominate the European. However, I have no faith in the permanence of any policy founded on force." (Federal Assembly *Hansard*, March 19, 1956.)

### Federal Franchise Proposals

At an election meeting in Que Que, Lord Malvern mentioned his ideas about a new Federal franchise system. He emphasized that he did not yet know what scheme would actually be adopted, and reminded the meeting that a two-thirds majority would be required in the Federal Parliament as well as the assent of Britain. He was thinking, however, of having two multi-racial common rolls. The upper roll, for which the qualifications would be very high, would elect the majority of members of the Federal House. The lower roll would include these

electors, but would also include others with much lower qualifications. It would elect perhaps one quarter of the members . . . (*The Times*, March 27, 1956.)

Mr. Julian Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law and Education, said that Lord Malvern's statement did not necessarily reflect the considered views of the Federal Government. The future depended on the Europeans carrying the educated Africans with them and not driving them into opposition. "Citizenship is an important aspect because we want to create a local loyalty in the Federation". The Bill would follow similar lines to the Southern Rhodesian citizenship legislation.

Previously the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Frank Owen, replied to a question from the recently organized "Voice of the People Committee"<sup>1</sup> asking: "Are you in favour of or against a franchise which will hand over the majority of voting power to Africans?" His reply was: "The short answer to your question is 'Against'. The suggestion that the Federal Government would introduce a franchise law which would hand over the majority of voting power to the Africans is misleading both to Europeans and Africans". Commenting on the reply, the Committee secretary said that as the Committee had now achieved its aim, it would disband, but members would always be prepared to re-form and campaign again if the occasion arose. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 22, 1956.)

The *Herald* commented that despite the comments of Mr. Owen, "it can be accepted that he (Lord Malvern) was deliberately giving an authoritative indication of the shape the Federal franchise is likely to take if the Federal Government has its way . . ." The paper stressed the need "if the Bill is not to have a sticky end . . . for a large measure of agreement between the Federal and British Governments on the terms of the Bill. So important is it to the future welfare and success of the Federation that a franchise scheme should be adopted broadly embracing the principles mentioned by Lord Malvern, we urge the Federal Government to press ahead with it no matter the size of the task and of its difficulties . . . The Malvern scheme . . . would . . . create a proper political system in which divisions would be on a party, not on racial, basis. Politicians of whatever colour would have to seek the votes of the other as well as their own race—a situation which we are convinced is vital if the Federation is not to erupt one day in racial conflict." (March 29, 1956.)

The London *Observer* described Lord Malvern's proposal as a "dangerous sham". "It is hypocritical because although Lord Malvern pretends that both rolls will be multi-racial, the qualification rating will obviously make the upper roll virtually European and the lower roll virtually African. It is dangerous because it is an ill-disguised device to allow the 200,000 European settlers to dominate the 6 million Africans for an indefinite period. Lord Malvern thinks this period should be twenty years. His deputy and heir-apparent said in a speech the other day that Africans will not be able to participate fully in the 'partnership' for 200 or 300 years: a sentiment that would do credit to the most extreme of South African Nationalists. Meanwhile, Britain still retains the right to veto constitutional changes in Central Africa. The Government should say plainly that it will make no further concessions to Lord Malvern's mischievous policies. Surrender on this issue would be Britain's final betrayal of African interests in Central Africa." (April 1, 1956.)

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

The African Affairs Committee of the Dominion Party<sup>1</sup> put forward proposals including a common roll and an African roll, the latter to elect the six African M.P.s. The three European M.P.s specially responsible for African interests would be elected by the electors of the two rolls voting together. No existing registered voters, whatever their race, would be deprived of the right they now hold, but there would be stringent conditions governing the admission of more Africans to the common roll, who would have to fulfil a good deal more than the basic qualifications required by the Europeans. Each would have to produce ten testimonials from registered voters and a statement from a magistrate or Native commissioner to the effect that the applicant had lived "entirely after a civilized manner of life for a given number of years; was educated to a full understanding of the normal notion of a liberal democracy; and was of good repute". Such applications would be referred to a court of five referees who could call on the applicant to appear before them for further examination. The court would ballot secretly upon the applications, but two adverse votes would be decisive for rejection. Applications approved by the court of referees would be submitted to the Executive Council for final acceptance or rejection.

By these proposals it is claimed that no one would be deprived of an existing right, that final control would be vested for generations to come in Europeans, and that the danger of domination by politically immature Africans would be eliminated. Partnership would be put on a satisfactory basis of realities instead of "entirely illusory pretence". (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 28, 1956.)

Mr. Philip Mason, Director of Studies in Race Relations at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) said in Salisbury that though full adult suffrage was the best system where it could be introduced, universal suffrage could not be brought into operation in Africa immediately. There was bound to be some injustice, but injustice could be tempered by the means of the multiple vote. "The great thing to be said for the multiple vote is that it does seem to be workable on a non-racial basis . . ." Discussing the "two-tier" system, Mr. Mason said there was the danger here of getting European and non-European blocs. A third proposal was to keep the existing common roll in Rhodesia and add an educational qualification to it, but this was harsher than the multiple vote system. (*Federation Newsletter*, May 1, 1956.)

### University Segregation

In the House of Commons, Mr. John Dugdale (Labour, former Minister of State for the Colonies), asked about conditions attached to the grant made from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds for the foundation of a university in Salisbury. Mr. Dugdale added that many people who were delighted that there should be a multi-racial university established, were deeply disturbed to hear that Africans were to eat in separate dining halls and live in separate houses. Did this form of *apartheid* have the Government's approval, and was it in keeping with the ideas which led them to give this university the grant?

Mr. Aneurin Bevan (Labour) asked if the Government considered it a contribution to multi-racial policy to separate the races in such an educational institution. Mr. James Griffiths (Labour, former Colonial Secretary), said that this would be

the first time that grants from the fund had been given for higher education and then used for purposes which were not fully multi-racial.

In his replies, the Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Commander Alan Noble, said that this was the first multi-racial university in the Federation and he was sure that the authorities on the spot would make the best arrangements for its success. There was no question of the university not being multi-racial. There was certainly segregation and that at the desire of the people on the spot in whom he had the greatest confidence . . .

Mr. Hugh Gaitskell (leader of the Opposition) asked what was meant by "the people on the spot". Comdr. Noble replied that by the people on the spot he meant the council of the university.

In reply to subsequent questions from Mr. Leslie Hale, Commander Noble said the amount of grant paid up to March 31, was £242,776. The Government had agreed to provide up to £1½ million and when they originally agreed it had already been made quite clear that this college would be open to students of all races. Mr. Hale said that during the debates on Central African Federation the fullest undertaking was given that it would be a fully multi-racial university in every sense. Public opinion in Britain would not tolerate sending another million pounds if racial segregation became the practice. Commander Noble said the council of the university was autonomous and it would be most improper to try to influence their policy by financial pressure.

In the House of Lords the Earl of Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, recalled the statement by Lord Swinton that the essential principle of a multi-racial university was completely accepted but the Carr-Saunders Report considered that some separate hostels would be in accordance with the multi-racial principle.

In London, the Deputy Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said that he could see no grounds for criticism in Britain. The decisions had been made by a Board on which there was an African representative. As far as he knew, Sir Roy said, there had been no protest from this man or from anyone else in the Federation. "It represents a considerable step forward having a multi-racial university at all. We've got to carry public opinion with us or else the thing won't go on. What is your aim? Is it to give the Africans an education or to make difficulties?" Liberals in the Federation who had worked for multi-racialism found that it was used by people in Britain as a stick to beat them with. (*The Times*, May 1, 1956.)

In Salisbury the Principal of the University College, Dr. Walter Adams, described the criticism about enforced segregation as "well meaning, but misguided and mischievous". He said that the colour bar as such did not exist at the university. Students of all races would work and play together. In the students' union building they would be able to enjoy light meals together, and they would do everything possible to encourage fully integrated participation in social and sporting events. Their sporting teams would comprise the best players they could put into the field, regardless of colour. If other universities were not prepared to play them on those terms they would confine their sport to their own fields . . . The fact that they could have in the initial stages separate residential quarters, including dining-rooms for Africans and Europeans, was simply in deference to the situation as they knew it to be.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

"At this stage of the country's development," Dr. Adams went on, "we do not have a common, all-embracing culture, European and African tastes in food, for example, are often different. In the same way there are important cultural differences of which any responsible authority must take cognizance. For example, for centuries polygamy has been an integral part of the African way of life. Another essential difference is the inheritance on the part of the African of a variety of religious beliefs and superstitions which are difficult to reconcile with those of the European. As things are, African and European students will in the main be coming from vastly different backgrounds, and will need for their own peace of mind some degree of personal privacy. If this is segregation, then we are segregating. We are launching a tremendous experiment. One false step at the beginning, one serious misunderstanding or the slightest breath of scandal, and this whole magnificent enterprise could be wrecked for years. If that happened it would be a tragedy for all races throughout Africa."

He said that in conformity with the advice of the Carr-Saunders Commission of 1952, the two blocks of residential quarters would be identical and the same distance from the centre of the university. "This means that if and when it is considered desirable there will be no difficulty whatsoever in mixing the races in the two blocks. Meanwhile our critics overseas might bear in mind that university hostels for non-European students exist in London on the same principle. It is also well to bear in mind that throughout Africa prejudice dies hard among the races. Any attempt to bulldoze the pace (there is no other word for it) would have the tragic consequences of halting liberalism in its track." (*The Times*, May 1, 1956.)

Dr. Adams also sent a letter to Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the leader of the British Labour Party, in which he said: "You have made our task doubly difficult by converting into a political and party issue a matter which we are proposing to solve by common sense and experience within our college community. It is fundamental to the success of the college that we should attract European students. They, unlike the Africans, have the option of going to universities in South Africa. If they or their parents boycott the college, then the opportunity for racial co-operation within the common standards of university life will have been lost." (*The Times*, May 2, 1956.)

Mr. L. M. N. Hodson, M.P., chairman of the University Council, said: "We are being bothered unnecessarily by people who have not committed themselves, their children and their grandchildren irrevocably to live in Africa among indigenous inhabitants in a rapidly growing friendship and respect. It is to be regretted that some minds pine for standardization and would have all Europeans in Africa Africanized or all Africans Europeanized. At present no African in Rhodesia and no Europeans regard the university as a place where they should standardize their domestic habits . . . This really follows Bloomsbury where there is a hostel for Indian female students.

"The presence of segregated colonies of different nationalities at the same university is not unknown in Europe today . . . The University College, before it has taken in a single student, has advanced the cause of racial understanding more than a hundred uni-racial African Colleges could have done.

"The African student in Britain is under considerable strain. He has to pretend to be a European. Here he will be able to behave naturally and have at the same time the benefit of contact with a race which, however much it may apologize for the

fact, is more advanced. Nevertheless there is no reason to conclude that residential segregation will be a permanent arrangement." (*New Commonwealth*, May 14, 1956.)

The Archbishop of Canterbury said that the university represented "an immense step in the true development of true partnership; but if you go too fast you stifle the thing." The decision at this stage to have separate living quarters had been made for perfectly intelligible reasons. "While there are terrible dangers, the general spirit in Central Africa is moving in the right direction. This university, which is open to people of all races on an equality of education, is one of the main symbols of that advance." (*Church Times*, May 4, 1956.)

### The Kariba Scheme<sup>1</sup>

The Federal Parliament rejected a proposal that operations on the £113 million Zambezi hydro-electric scheme at Kariba should be discontinued. When a division was called on the proposal, three Northern Rhodesia members left the Chamber: Sir John Moffat (Chairman of the African Affairs Board), Mr. V. T. Joyce (Luanshya-Mufulira) and Mr. R. L'Ange (Nkana-Chingola). Both Mr. Joyce and Mr. L'Ange are members of the Federal Party. Four members voted in favour of stopping operations: Dr. A. Scott (Independent, Lusaka), Mr. Van Eeden (Commonwealth, Kafue), Mr. M. Kakumbi (Northern Rhodesia), Mr. W. M. Chirwa (Nyasaland). (*Federation Newsletter*, March 26, 1956.)

In summing up the debate, Mr. L'Ange criticized the Prime Minister for his failure "to take us into his confidence," and added that "if the intention is to make a success of this Federation, then from now on matters will have to change very materially indeed . . . The facts now revealed show a remarkable degree of irresponsibility displayed by the Government. The only money available to the scheme has been produced to save the face of the Government. This is not a good thing. It is not in line with the dignity of Parliament." (*Federal Assembly Hansard*, March 15, 1956.)

### Economics and Immigration

The Federal Finance Minister, Mr. D. Macintyre, said that the net national income of the Federation had increased from £147 million in 1950 to £265 million. He said: "We have had to rely on getting technical skill and administrative ability from abroad. Between 1946 and 1955 the European population of the Federation increased from 108,000 to 235,000 . . . The present European population is approximately 300,000." He added that the Government must take a cautious line in encouraging new industries until new reserves of power and better transport facilities existed.

Mr. Macintyre said that for each European immigrant about £2,600 investment was required in railways, public services, housing, factories and industrial equipment. At the present rate of immigration this represented a strain on the economy which the Federation was not able safely to bear.

Commenting on the statement the *Manchester Guardian* (May 5, 1956) said that the World Bank had made it a condition of its lending money for the Kariba Project that the Federal Government should restrict immigration to people with special skills and professional or managerial qualifications. To satisfy the World Bank conditions—a loan of \$100 million

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

has been mentioned as a possibility—the Government is determined to introduce a note of consolidation and planning into the Federation's hitherto freely booming economy.

The long-term effects of this policy can be considerable. During the past two years considerable numbers of immigrants have been brought from Greece and Italy to fill vacancies as firemen on the railways. There has also been a steady inflow of semi-skilled White labour from Europe and South Africa into the building trade, transport, and certain fields of mining. The present restrictions on immigration will force the Government and industry to decide between reducing the rate of development to conform with the amount of European labour available and the training of Africans to take over jobs in fields hitherto restricted to Europeans. There is little doubt that such a trend would greatly strengthen the Federation's basic economy by making greater use of its domestic labour resources.

### By-Election Result<sup>1</sup>

The result of the by-election at Sebakwe, Southern Rhodesia was: Mr. R. Williamson (Dominion) 805, Dr. M. Hirsch (Federal) 786, Mr. J. M. de Kock (Commonwealth) 603. In an election address, Mr. Williamson (a chartered accountant) said: "I am contesting the Sebakwe seat because I think there is real need to investigate every item of Government spending. I feel that there must be a curb on the profligate use of public funds when there is so much to be done in providing internal services . . . I believe that the only road to complete harmony between the races in the Federation is to provide the African with a legitimate outlet for his political aspirations by allowing him to vote for his African representation by means of an African voters' roll. I believe that the African must be assisted along the road to civilization and that he may in time understand the principles of democracy; he should be encouraged to attain registration on the African roll so that he can take an active part in his own councils and local authorities. But I do not believe that he should be encouraged to think that equality with the European lies just around the corner . . . I adhere to the principles of European leadership as the only practical and acceptable policy for the enduring benefit of all the peoples of this great Federation."

The *Rhodesia Herald* (March 30, 1956) pointed out that of the 9,565 names on the voters' roll for the constituency, 907 (about 90 per cent) were of Afrikaans origin.

Discussing the result, an editorial said: "The significance . . . is quite simply that more than two-thirds of the voters have rejected the racial brand of politics preached by the Commonwealth Party<sup>1</sup> . . . and have indicated that they will have no part in extremism . . ." (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 7, 1956.)

Prior to the by-election, Mr. John Gaunt of Northern Rhodesia and Mr. Jack Keller of Southern Rhodesia, both of whom were among those who founded the Dominion Party, announced their resignations from it. Mr. Keller said ". . . I have come to the conclusion that this new adventure styled the Dominion Party is simply the resuscitation of the old Liberal-Rhodesia Party, designed to represent mainly farming interests under this new name . . ." He would revert to sitting in the Southern Rhodesia House as an Independent Labour Member. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 29, 1956.)

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

### African Membership of Federal Marketing Council

During the committee stage of the Agricultural Marketing Bill, Mr. J. M. Caldicott, the Federal Minister of Agriculture, accepted an amendment moved by Mr. H. E. Davies (representing African interests in Southern Rhodesia), which gave the Minister power to appoint African representatives on the Marketing Council when he required them. Mr. Davies thought that this might not be immediately but would probably be very soon.

Mr. D. Yamba (Northern Rhodesia) and Mr. W. Chirwa (Nyasaland) said that they were not satisfied with the amendment, although it was an improvement on the original clause (which had not allowed for any African representation). They wanted the appointment of Africans to the Marketing Council to be made immediately. Mr. L. M. N. Hodson objected to the amendment on the grounds that in future the House would have to allow representation on various boards on a racial basis instead of on a basis of merit. Mr. L. M. Cullinan (Federal Party Whip) based his objection on the ground that additional members would make the Advisory Council too large. The Minister, in accepting the amendment, deplored the way in which the racial aspect had been bandied about. But he recognized that there was a type of agricultural production in existence with peculiar marketing problems of its own and it was quite clear that sooner or later in the future representation of that type of production must be given on the Council. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 14, 1956.)

### Swiss Investment

A Swiss Trust will invest £4½ million in the Central African Federation in the next eighteen months. This money was intended for Jordan but was diverted after the dismissal of General Glubb. Mr. J. B. Dorey, the representative of the British firm acting on behalf of the Swiss Trust, said that prospects for Swiss investment in the Federation were excellent. He felt there was vast scope for investment—not speculation—and immigration, provided people made up their minds to work. The picture painted of the Federation by the British Press was false. Although this was his first visit there, he was so impressed that he was considering buying a house in the Highlands area to settle. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, April 11, 1956.)

### Nyasaland

#### Sir Robert Armitage's First Statement

SIR ROBERT ARMITAGE, who was recently appointed Governor of Nyasaland, opening the new session of Nyasaland's reconstituted Legislative Council,<sup>1</sup> said: "Each one of us has a duty to direct our energies towards the advancement of the people of Nyasaland within the framework of the federal constitution . . ."

Members of the council, the Governor went on, had the duty of ensuring that they applied those economic and financial resources available to them as the result of federation in a manner which patently indicated to the people the advantages of that association. They also were bound to demonstrate, particularly

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

to Africans, their intention of pursuing liberal policies for their advancement which they had a right to expect and which would not be denied by reason of Nyasaland's participation in the Federation.

The Governor said he had referred to the matter of supporting the federation as "at the commencement of my tenure of Office . . . it is important there should be no misunderstanding . . ."

The correspondent of *The Times* (May 4, 1956) commented: "This statement of support for the federation is the first indication of the Governor's views since he took office a month ago. It is expected to have a mixed reception in the protectorate. While no doubt it will be welcomed by European and Asian communities and moderate Africans, it may disappoint African Congress members who are still bitterly opposed to federation."

### Nyasaland and the Federation

The Nyasaland Government issued a statement that it was the duty of every loyal person in the country to "lend all his efforts" to making a success of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The statement commented on what it called "irresponsible and uninformed statements to the effect that Nyasaland's participation in the Federation was not on a permanent basis, and that steps should be taken for Nyasaland to contract out of the Federation."<sup>1</sup> (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 27, 1956.)

The statement followed remarks by Mr. N. D. Kwenje who was recently elected to the Legislative Council.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kwenje, who at one time edited the *Bantu Mirror* in Southern Rhodesia, where he has lived for nineteen years, said that a determined effort to extricate Nyasaland from the Federation is to be made by African political leaders. "We shall abide by the present constitution," he stated on his return to Salisbury from his election campaign in Blantyre, "but when it comes up for revision in about 1962, we shall take Nyasaland out of the Federation. We want to stick to Britain all the time, not to be handed to other people. The Colonial Office's promise to our chiefs was to train us till we could take over the reins of government. When that promised time arrives and we can stand on our own feet like other nations, we want to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We don't want Federation. When the Federal Government gets Dominion Status, we Nyasaland Africans will find ourselves in the soup. The real British way of life will be closed to us and we shall be told what to do whether we like it or not."

The *Rhodesia Herald* commented: "We should make two important points clear. The first is that it is no fault of the Federal Government that Nyasaland is part of the Federation . . . It was Britain who had no wish to be left with a poor little Central African orphan on her hands who insisted on Nyasaland being included . . . The first task of the Nyasaland secessionists, therefore, must be to persuade the British Government to reverse what, up to now, has been its intractable attitude toward Central Africa, something which, judging by a recent statement of the Colonial Secretary, it would display no willingness to do even if there were provision in the Constitution for such a thing. The second is that the secessionists, if they have even faint pretensions to honesty, must make clear to their people what the cost of secession is likely to be. It is, in fact, nothing less than a return for many years to the

national poverty from which Nyasaland is only now beginning to escape." (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 20, 1956.)

The Federal Prime Minister, Lord Malvern, declared: "The Federation is indissoluble." He was commenting on a leading article in a Nyasaland newspaper which said that it was always understood that Federation would be on a trial basis and that it would be abandoned if found unacceptable. Lord Malvern said: "There is nothing in the Constitution that provides for it being able to break up. The only way in which the Federation could be reduced to its original constituent parts of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland is by revolution or, with the consent of all three partners, by an Act passed in the British Parliament . . . The recent statements by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and by the Nyasaland Government make it perfectly clear that there is no possibility either now, or in the future, of Nyasaland, or any other part of the Federation, being excluded from it. There has never been any question of a trial period for the Federation.

"The mistake so many people make is on the question of reviewing the Constitution after seven years in 1960. This review is not to find out whether all the partners still want to be federated, but to make any necessary alterations in the application of the Constitution . . . It will undoubtedly need alterations when the time comes to make it a more workable agreement. But those alterations cannot be made until after ten years, that is in 1963." (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 14, 1956.)

The *Herald* commented: ". . . Lord Malvern was not as explicit as he might have been . . . What he meant . . . is that the Federation cannot be dissolved simply at the whim of one partner acting alone . . . In other words Nyasaland, no matter how much the African Congress might desire it, has no independent power to 'contract out' of the Federation . . . But should all the partners agree that it was desirable and be able to persuade the British Parliament to accept their view, the Federation could be dissolved . . ."

### Raid on Houses of Congress Leaders

The police searched the homes of three leading officials of the Nyasaland National Congress on April 6. Those concerned were Mr. J. F. Sangala, the President-General, Mr. S. B. Somanji, the Treasurer-General, and Mr. D. T. Banda, the Secretary-General. The police took away a quantity of literature. (*The Times*, April 9, 1956.) Mr. Sangala and Mr. Banda were found guilty of sedition, and were sentenced to fines of £10, or three months imprisonment, and £12, or three months and three weeks imprisonment respectively.

### New Salary Scales for African Civil Servants

On March 29 new salary scales for Africans in the senior grades of the Civil Service were announced by the Nyasaland Government. The salaries of twelve Africans at present in the educational service are affected and will now be in grades qualifying for a maximum of £1,915 a year. Previously there were no standard salaries for Africans in senior grades. Generally they were paid about three-fifths of the European scale. Grading is now on a common footing for both African and European civil servants in Nyasaland, though the Africans will receive no cost-of-living allowances, and salaries in the African grades are still some way short of the corresponding European salaries. (*Johannesburg Star*, March 30, 1956.)

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

# Northern Rhodesia

## Report on Racial Discrimination

THE Committee appointed by the Northern Rhodesian Government to investigate racial discrimination<sup>1</sup> has recommended that the Government should set up a statutory advisory and conciliation board, with the object of progressively abolishing racial discrimination.

The *Rhodesia Herald* (March 23, 1956) reported that the Committee heard of a great all-round improvement in the treatment of African shoppers in the majority of European stores in the past few years. But complaints were made of rudeness to African customers, separate queues for Africans, and the fact that "first come, first served" was rarely practised.

The committee said: "It is with regret that we must record that some European shop assistants, and this applies to all kinds of shops, seem to go out of their way to be deliberately rude to African customers. The fears the European of low intelligence and ability has of slipping down the social scale is a very real one. The more so because a European settling in Central Africa often finds himself a notch or two higher in the social scale, and something recently won is always more bitterly defended.

"One of the biggest educational problems is what to do with children who in Europe would dig ditches, hew wood and draw water. This type of European knows that his white skin is his biggest asset and doesn't want it to mean any less than it does now. He has a vested interest in racial discrimination. On the other side of the picture we find some Africans who seem to go out of their way to provoke incidents. Such men invite rebuffs which they receive for their display of bad manners and for the aggressive attitude which they adopt towards Europeans".

### African Shopping Boycott

A boycott of shops organized by the African Congress was described as almost 100 per cent effective in the second-class trading area of Lusaka. Africans were told by pickets to buy as little as possible, to return home for their lunches and to patronize African shops whenever they could. The *Rhodesia Herald* subsequently reported that hundreds of Africans were "beating" the boycott, by shopping in the afternoon when the pickets withdrew and buying from European stores where picketing is extremely difficult. (April 12, 1956.)

### Mr. Nkumbula's Comments

The Central African correspondent of the *Kenya Weekly News* said that Mr. Harry Nkumbula, President of the Congress, criticized Indian traders and butchers and their methods of conducting business. He was speaking to an orderly but enthusiastic audience. He described the Indian trader as a "greedy boy" who not only took more than his fair share of the cake, but also in the scramble caused some of the cake to be spoilt.

Mr. Nkumbula suggested that there was plenty of room at the top of the commercial field for Europeans and Indians and that Africans should be left to trade in commodities essentially theirs—such as sand, maize and fishing. He also lifted the veil on the possible future intentions of the Congress when he said that unless the Colour bar were lifted in hotels, restaurants and shops in Northern Rhodesia, their African labour might well be

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 1.

withdrawn. No one pretends that Congress actually has the power to enforce this, touching as it does the Africans' bread and butter, but events of the boycott have made it clear that conditions might become difficult. (April, 1956.)

### Lord Malvern Worried by Political Movements

The Federal Government were concerned about movements among the Native people in Northern Rhodesia which had become political and even subversive, said Lord Malvern at a meeting of the Lusaka Chamber of Commerce. He said it was difficult to find a middle course between driving these movements underground and taking stronger action against them. It was a delicate matter tied up with police and security, which was a territorial and not a Federal responsibility. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 27, 1956.)

### Loans for African Business Men

The Northern Rhodesian Government has set up a loan fund to help African business men. Those who borrow money must be prepared to put into the business at least as much from their own resources as they borrow from the Government committee. The money will be lent over a period of five years and at interest rates of not less than 4½ per cent. (*Federation Newsletter*, March 16, 1956.)

### Copperbelt Labour Disputes

A strike at the Mufulira mine was decided on at a branch meeting of the European Mineworkers' Union at Ndola, but the strikers returned to work when three African pipefitters were withdrawn. The dispute started when ten European underground pipefitters walked off in protest at the arrival of the African underground pipefitters to work on the same level. Underground pipefitting is one of the twenty-four jobs conceded to Africans at the advancement talks last year<sup>1</sup> and the European union contends that it agreed then that Africans, when they were ready, would take over the complete category and would not be introduced among Europeans by ones and twos. The Mufulira mine management denies that there was any such undertaking, which would severely affect the rate of African advancement throughout the Copperbelt, and added that care would be taken to see that African pipefitters did not work side by side with Europeans and were out of sight of them. (*The Times*, April 11, 1956.)

A spokesman of the Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines said the removal of the three Africans would entail a set-back to the tempo of African advancement. But the Chamber of Mines considered that the avoidance of friction in the implementation of the advancement programme was of paramount importance. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 11, 1956.)

### Stage Ban on Africans

The Northern Rhodesian Drama Association declined to accept an entry for the national drama festival if the cast included a Native. In a statement, the Association said that social integration between the two main races was not a fact. "It is not the function of the executive committee . . . to subscribe to views of whether or not there should be social integration. Its duty is to legislate for the success of the festival as an event.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

N.R.D.A. is not an organization using the theatre as a means of challenging the *status quo . . .*" (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 19, 1956.)

The Johannesburg *Star* (March 19, 1956) said that *apartheid* has cast an unexpected question mark over Rhodesia's unique national festival of drama-in-the-African-bush. It had learned that "risk of laughter or abusive remarks causing unnecessary embarrassment to the actor concerned" was one of the main reasons for banning a Native from taking the part of Blossom, a Native soldier in John Patrick's play, *The Hasty Heart*. The Bulawayo Theatre Club agreed to abide by the rules of the host Association and to ask a European to act as Blossom. But "it will be quite a feat of theatre" said the producer.

### Freehold Farm Land

Mr. John Roberts, the Member for Health, Lands and Local Government, introduced a measure into the Legislative Council whereby farmers who have occupied land for ten years and have spent £10,000 on development can convert their leasehold tenure to freehold. Half the farmers in Northern Rhodesia will be able to benefit immediately the Bill becomes law in July. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 24, 1956.)

## Southern Rhodesia

### Africans in Trade Unions

THE Southern Rhodesia Parliament adopted without a division the report of the Select Committee recommending that Africans should be allowed to become members of trade unions recognized under the Industrial Conciliation Act. The Prime Minister, Mr. Garfield Todd, chairman of the Committee, emphasized that the country was fortunate to have trade union leaders who were able to persuade the unions, hitherto exclusively European, to take the long view. When the Act was first introduced in 1934 the trade unions peremptorily refused to consider the admission of Africans. Now the Committee found White and Black witnesses practically unanimous for the change. Mr. Todd agreed that legislation implementing the report should include provision for grading the jobs. (*Manchester Guardian*, April 7, 1956.)

The Select Committee recommended that where European unions would not admit Africans or were for skilled workers only (and Africans concerned were unskilled), or there was no union, Africans could apply to form a union of their own . . . It would be most desirable if multi-racial unions, with or without separate African branches, came into being, but it would be wrong to impose a rigid pattern of multi-racial unions by law . . . The present Industrial Council system under which employers' and employees' representatives negotiate wages and agreements in particular industries would cover African wages and agreements . . . To ensure that these Industrial Councils are representative of the interests they purport to represent, it might be best for the Minister to refuse to register a council unless satisfied on this point and to withdraw recognition if a council ceases to be fairly representative . . . It should not be possible for a trade union or employers' organization to apply any funds, directly or indirectly, for political purposes . . . It should be obligatory—without interfering with the existing freedom to form voluntary work committees—on

an employer to permit the setting up of a statutory works committee where it is requested by twenty-five or more employees in a particular factory. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 23, 1956.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (March 24, 1956) in a survey of the opinions of industrial and trade union leaders said that the report had been generally welcomed for avoiding the danger of advocating a racial union system. When Mr. Garfield Todd introduced the report, every member of the Southern Rhodesia House on both the Government and Opposition benches, joined in loud applause which lasted for nearly two minutes.

Mr. J. M. Nkomo, President of the African Trade Union Congress, commented that the proposed alterations did not go far enough. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 28, 1956.)

Following the acceptance of the report, it was announced that since the agreements made under the Industrial Conciliation Act applied to Africans as well as to Europeans, Africans employed on skilled work in the building industry in all major towns in Southern Rhodesia would receive the same rates of pay as Europeans. Commenting on this development, the *Manchester Guardian* said that some Africans welcome this but others fear that it will reduce the numbers of Africans employed on these jobs.

### All African Craftsmen Dismissed

All African craftsmen in Bulawayo, who were believed to number about 100, have been dismissed. The new agreement has raised some African rates from £2 a week to £15. The African plumbers, painters, plasterers, and others who were dismissed by contractors can obtain work outside the municipal areas, but this would mean giving up accommodation obtained in town as a result of their work in town.

The agreement for equal pay was caused by the fears of the National Industrial Council, which is controlled by Whites, that the African was encroaching on the European field and putting Europeans out of work. The agreement provides the argument that Africans are dismissed on the grounds that, given equal pay, a European employee is a better worker. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 11, 1956.)

### Commission on Franchise<sup>1</sup>

The following are members of the Commission on the franchise:—Sir Robert Tredgold, Chief Justice of the Federation; Mr. Justice Murray, Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia; and Sir Charles Cumings, Deputy Resident Director in Rhodesia of the British South Africa Company and a former Chief Justice of the Sudan.

The Commission has been instructed to consider and report on a system of just representation of the people of the Colony in its Legislative Assembly, under which the Government is placed and remains in the hands of civilized and responsible persons, and to consider any other matters, which in the opinion of the Commissioners are relevant. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 20, 1956.)

### Misgivings About Police Powers to Search

Clause 46 of the Firearms Bill which is under consideration by the Southern Rhodesia Parliament, would give the police power which is widely and effectively used in totalitarian states,

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

according to a letter from the Executive Committee of the Rhodesia National Affairs Association to all Members of Parliament. It would be contrary to "a fundamental principle of our system of justice."

The Clause would allow any police officer "at all reasonable times" to enter any premises "with a view to ascertaining whether or not the provisions of this Act or any regulations made thereunder are being complied with." The police may "inspect such premises and any firearm or ammunition, book, account, register, document or thing found therein, and may require any person appearing to be in control thereof or employed therein to give such information as such police officer may require."

The committee feel that police officers should be allowed to invade the privacy of a person's home only if they have reasonable grounds for suspecting the commission of an offence. "Any contention that the powers would be used sparingly and in a reasonable way is no counter-argument, as no one can foretell the nature of future Governments or police officers." (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 15, 1956.)

### Church Statement on Colour Bar

The Mashonaland Diocesan Social and Industrial Council called for the abolition of the Colour Bar in all spheres of activity.

Although the European minority held the initiative, it was restrained from using it to full advantage for fear of the results of closer association between itself and the Native races.

Fears that the abolition of the Colour Bar would result in the indiscriminate mixing of all sorts of people in all spheres and under all circumstances were groundless. The natural laws governing the social habits of peoples would provide for the necessary differentiation between peoples in their various activities and in their social life.

The time had now come for certain areas in the commercial, industrial, agricultural and residential districts of the territory to be scheduled as "open": they should be free for occupation and development by any citizen, whatever his race or colour. (*Church Times*, May 4, 1956.)

### Fears About Heavier Poll Tax

African leaders in Salisbury's Harari township have suggested that, although the Government's plans for Native Education<sup>1</sup> are a major step forward, the doubling of the poll tax will do more harm than the increased grant to education can do good. Canon Chipunza of St. Michael's, Harari, said: "To double the tax is out of all proportion to the earning capacity of the average African."

Mr. C. Mzingeli, general secretary of the Reformed Commercial and Industrial Workers' Union, commented: "The European is charged income tax dependent on his wage or salary. But the African must pay poll tax of £2 irrespective of his earning capacity." Miss B. Tredgold, the Warden of St. Michael's Mission, said she did not approve of the increase. "To double it is not right; many Europeans are not paying any tax." (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 7, 1956.)

Mr. Garfield Todd, the Prime Minister, said that a poll tax on Natives was discriminatory and could not be justified on moral grounds. But the doubling of poll tax provided a practical

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

solution to a practical problem. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 28, 1956.)

When the Native Tax Bill was considered in Committee, one or two members suggested holding over the clause increasing the poll tax so that other methods of raising the money could be considered. Mr. H. Reedman suggested some method of "pay-as-you-earn". The Minister of the Treasury, Mr. C. J. Hatty, said it was not possible to introduce a tax related to the income of the Africans, as under the Federal Constitution, the tax would then go to the Federal Government. When the clause was put to the vote, only three members voted against it. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 16, 1956.)

### Africans Own Houses

Highfield African Township, near Salisbury, the first urban home-owning scheme for Africans in Southern Rhodesia, will ultimately have 3,500 houses and a population of about 20,000. One thousand two hundred houses are completed and it is planned to have 2,500 by the end of next year. The cost of houses ranges from £910 to £365 and houses can be paid for by monthly instalments over twenty-five years. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 18, 1956.)

### Residential Apartheid

Salisbury City Council's Health, Housing and Native Administration Committee has drawn up a plan to prohibit immediately the building of permanent accommodation for Africans in commercial and industrial areas of the European areas and to restrict building for Africans in European residential areas. The Director of Native Administration in the city, Colonel G. H. Hartley, said he foresaw a time when the only African domestic servants in Salisbury would be women who had their own homes in urban African townships, and when there would be no domestic servants living in the grounds of European homes. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 27, 1956.)

### African Confidence in Government

Mr. J. E. S. Turton, Chief Native Commissioner and Secretary for Native Affairs, in his annual report said that the confidence of the colony's Natives in the Southern Rhodesia Government was maintained during 1955, and in spite of a noisy few people, both Black and White, the colony's racial harmony was as sound as ever. The Government had made rapid progress with two of the main needs, the speedier implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act, and better living conditions and housing for urban Natives. (*Sunday Mail*, April 8, 1956.)

### The Problems of the Eurasians

The Central Africa correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* drew attention to the plight of the Eurasians in Southern Rhodesia. They are the half-caste offspring of European fathers and African mothers. Although they have never been counted, "the total of Eurasians in the Native Reserves can scarcely be less than 10,000; it might be even ten times that number. Nobody knows. But it is growing faster than ever." The Eurasian, if brought up in his mother's village, used to be accepted in the communal way of life, but now that the landholding practice in the Reserves is being changed from communal to individual tenure, "there is already noticeable in some areas a hostility to Eurasians. Gradually an ever higher proportion

will be driven to the towns by public opinion in the Reserves . . . Here the Eurafrican boy finds his first big dilemma . . . the Africans of the town location will refuse to accept him among themselves as an African. He goes to a prospective employer, but owing to his light skin the White man expects him to know English (as all "Coloureds" do) and generally be more sophisticated than an African straight from the kraal, which is all he feels himself to be. He is again rejected . . . The girls are on an even more precarious footing." A small group of Eurafricans in Salisbury have studied the problem and have put forward points for consideration by the Minister of Home Affairs. They ask—

1. To be recognized as a community, the "Eurafricans", and not lumped in one undifferentiated body of mixed breeds, the "Coloureds". Some of the latter have no European blood in them, some have no African blood.
2. For adequate provision to be made for the compulsory education of the Eurafricans.
3. To this end, that the registration of the birth of Eurafricans be compulsory.
4. For provision to be made for Eurafrican youths—girls as well as boys—to be accommodated in hostels when they come to live in towns.
5. That apprenticeship courses be provided in various trades for boys and for girls.
6. That the number of Eurafricans be discovered as otherwise it is impossible to tackle the many problems. (April 28, 1956.)

## SUDAN

### Closure of Schools in the South

THE Minister of Education, Sayed Aly Abdel Rahman, issued a statement referring to the closing of all schools, governmental and non-governmental, owing to "the unfortunate happenings that took place in the Southern Provinces last August and the declaration of a state of emergency". The statement continues: ". . . Owing to the fact that security was uncertain in Equatoria and a state of uneasiness existed in big parts of Upper Nile Province and Bahr El Ghazal . . . it was decided to extend closure for a further period . . . Thus a school year has unfortunately been lost to all schools in the South."

For the new school year beginning in April it had been decided to open all schools, governmental and non-governmental, in the Bahr El Ghazal province and in certain districts of Upper Nile province, with the exception of east, central and west Nuer and also Bor which "will remain closed as they are far away for effective control by the Ministry". All schools in Equatoria province will remain closed. A teacher training centre and two secondary schools are to be transferred to the north "where the atmosphere will make it possible to bridge the gap in the education of the two parts of the country . . ." (*Sudan Weekly News*, February 22, 1956.)

### Czech and Russian Offers of Arms

General Abboud, Deputy-Commander-in-Chief of the Sudanese armed forces announced that the Sudan was considering an offer of arms from Czechoslovakia. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 24, 1956.)

Later, it was reported that the Soviet Union had offered to supply the Sudanese Army with modern arms and equipment. *The Times* correspondent (April 24, 1956) wrote: "During the past year Sudan has been seeking arms and ammunition to satisfy immediate needs for the expansion of her army. A military mission last year visited Britain, France, India and Czechoslovakia for this purpose, and last month a Czech delegation made an offer of the heavier equipment. It was then decided that the question of long-term expansion could be left in abeyance, and immediate needs have been satisfied by a gift from Egypt, valued at £250,000.

"The Russian offer, which presumably includes aircraft, tanks and heavy guns, would, if accepted, change the Sudanese Army from a mere internal defence force into a national force on a war footing, which is the popular desire in a country that so recently achieved political independence."

### Sharing the Nile Waters<sup>1</sup>

The Sudanese Prime Minister, Ismail el Azhari, held a press conference before the start of a new series of talks between Egypt and the Sudan on the division of the Nile Waters—subject on which there must be agreement before work can begin on the High Dam project. He said that Britain had asked that the Uganda Government, which is also interested in the fair division of the Nile waters, should be admitted to the negotiations. Asked however if he favoured the idea of an international authority for the Nile waters, he said, "I would rather confine it to Egypt and Sudan". (*The Times*, April 16, 1956.)

## OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES

### Ethiopia

#### Ethiopian Foreign Policy

In an interview, Mr. Z. G. Heywot, Ethiopian Ambassador at the U.N. said: "We attended the conference at Bandung and returned satisfied with the results. African and Asian peoples have suffered foreign domination and the conference was an historic occasion because it brought an organization of their mutual interests. We are regarding each situation as it develops, and will make our decisions individually rather than generally.

"On the Moroccan situation, for instance, we support the Arab demand for independence. Since it is the ultimate goal of the French to give self-rule, we feel it is just as well to give it now as at any time. In the Middle East we are watching the situation between Egypt and the Israelis. A war there would have serious implications for our country . . .

"Our security is interdependent with that of the neighbouring Middle Eastern countries and if we can do anything to help ease the situation, we certainly shall. Naturally one of our first interests is the situation in Africa generally. We are hopeful that many of the more critical issues there will soon be resolved. In the case of South Africa, South Africans helped to

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 7.

liberate our country, and we welcomed them as saviours. But inevitably we are concerned about the racial situation there and would like to see an improvement. In time, a unity will develop in Africa that will be one of the most important political forces in the world. That unity isn't in sight now.

"There is talk of a United States of Africa, but to achieve that there must be more education, and African peoples must reach a higher state of independence. Besides, there are regional differences which must be settled. There are many elements working for unity now. We have common political aspirations and there are other things which bind us. We in Ethiopia are developing an individual foreign policy—and the other African states will follow us." (*Montreal Star*: quoted in *New Times and Ethiopia News*, March 3, 1956.)

## Belgian Congo

### Africans' Advance<sup>1</sup>

LATEST available statistics show that in 1954 there were over 1,112,000 pupils in the Belgian Congo's 24,000 schools. This is claimed as the highest school attendance figure in Africa. Teaching staff numbered nearly 3,000 Europeans and over 38,000 Natives. There were about 13,000 subsidized Mission schools and during 1954 the Belgian Government created the first State schools in the chief cities. Seven new schools were opened in the capital, Leopoldville. Lessons are given in French and in Lingala. The syllabus at all levels is similar to that of Belgian schools.

Parallel to this there is a campaign of basic education among illiterate adults. Also in 1954, Lovanium, the first University in the Congo was opened near Leopoldville through the co-operation of the University of Louvain, Belgium and the Congo Government. African and European students were able to choose between natural sciences, medicine, pedagogical, social and administrative studies. Of the twenty-one students completing the first year, three were Europeans. A Royal Decree has been signed creating the first State University, a public foundation with full rights and privileges at Usumbura, the chief city of Ruanda-Urundi; the agricultural and medical schools of the university will be established in the north-eastern part of the Congo.

There has been considerable advance in the establishment of Native co-operatives, social centres, youth movements and public libraries. More than 20,000 houses for Natives have been built through the O.C.A. (Office des Cités Africaines). There are about eighty papers and magazines for Natives; the most important magazine, *La Voix du Congolais* is entirely edited by Natives and largely independent.

In the rural areas, groups of peasant families have been regrouped to form farmers' communities. This has led to the growth of a new class of Native landowners. Under the Ten Year Plan 445,000 small farms, of which already more than 100,000 are occupied, are to be created. (*The Belgian Congo Today*, January, 1956.)

### Belgian Formula for Race Relations

In a policy speech at the opening session of the annual Government Council at Leopoldville, the Governor General

(L. A. M. Pétillon) said: ". . . Looking at the different possibilities and systems, the choice finally boils down to three alternatives: the racial groups become opposed, or they merge, or they associate. Opposition, or in other terms, segregation and discrimination, offers no real solution . . . We reject that system, because it is against our character and temperament, and also because it cannot yield a lasting solution.

"A merger—or assimilation—is more in line with our ideas and our democratic ideal. It would result in a country peopled by Whites remaining as they are (with some unavoidable adaptations), and Natives, who would have become so much like Whites that the inequality would tend to disappear. We think of that solution as being applicable, as time goes on, on a gradually wider scale. But it should not be regarded as an exclusive solution. First, because it cannot be worked out on a sufficiently broad basis; in the second place, because it would lead to an absorption rather than a merger, to the substitution of Western civilization for Bantu customs. But we do not reject it . . . we already apply it fully in principle, though on limited numbers, by the immatriculation and assimilation of the most advanced of our wards.

"However we find this solution unsatisfactory, because we are interested in the mass of Natives. We need a more practical system . . . The idea is not merely to assimilate and to integrate into our system and life a growing number of the élite. We want to work from the bottom, all over the Congo. We aim at getting the sincere and spontaneous co-operation of the people of this country, who, through force of circumstances or by their own free will, remain confined in the traditional activities and customs of their milieu . . . There can be no question of opposing them to us in order to subdue them, or of assimilating them in order to belittle them. We must offer them an opportunity for association, and organize it so that they accept with enthusiasm.

"Association implies mutual rights and duties . . . It is the hardest solution, but we have chosen it because it seemed the best to us. In fact . . . it really imposed itself upon us, just as the safest and most efficient methods always impose themselves on practical people with common sense. We do not indulge much in theories. History has placed us in a favourable position to observe the experience of others and to draw a lesson from it. That is simply what we have done" (*The Belgian Congo Today*, April, 1956.)

### Anti-Colonialism and the U.N.

Ambassador F. van Langenhove, Belgium's permanent representative at the U.N., in a broadcast from the U.N. radio station said: "Anti-colonialism is still one of the dominant tendencies of the Assembly . . . It has reached a point where it may seriously jeopardize the proper functioning of the U.N.O. In former days people spoke of 'colonization'. Today the word is 'colonialism'. It is used in a pejorative sense and its emotional power is great. It is being used for purposes of racial or religious solidarity against a small number of countries, chiefly France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. It serves to make pressure on these countries in order to get some claim or demand satisfied.

In the emotional atmosphere thus created, it is useless to appeal to legal arguments . . . The situation cannot but deteriorate even more, if the United Nations prove themselves

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST III, 2.

incapable of discussing these problems with greater fairness and impartiality. If colonialism is understood to imply the domination and exploitation of the Native peoples, it is more than obvious that colonialism does not automatically cease and disappear when a colony gains its independence. There are numerous cases in history to show that the fate of the indigenous peoples did not improve at all after the colonies had become independent States, ruled by the descendants of White colonists or by the most civilized races and classes in the country . . . (The Belgian Congo Today, April, 1956.)

### Economic Expansion

"The pace of the Congo's general expansion in the last few years has been faster than that of the United States in the nineteenth century," said M. A. Buisseret, Belgian Minister of Overseas Territories, in a lecture at Liège. Points made in the lecture were that in 1954, exports from the Congo to Western Europe reached the record figure of more than £100 million (compared with about £20 million in 1938).

"Europe had no reason to fear the gradual industrialization of Central Africa, for with it would come a rise in the standard of living of the natives; and in Africa, Europe would find a new and natural outlet for its better quality goods. Africa would concentrate its industrialization efforts on the treatment of ores and raw materials. It would thus become able to supply half-finished goods to European industries at increasingly competitive prices. Uranium, for example, would not go on being exported as an ore, but rather as ready atomic fuel prepared in the Congo, near the other available sources of cheap energy and far from the risks of European instability. Sixty-eight per cent of the products of local manufacturing industry are consumed locally. Of the 17,000 industrial, agricultural and commercial establishments registered in 1954, 8,000 were managed by Africans.

The financial and economic situation of the trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi is at present much less favourable than that of the Congo. In view of its basic poverty, Ruanda-Urundi is with seventy-two inhabitants per square kilometre against five in the Congo, one of Africa's few overpopulated areas.

Speaking in the U.N. Trusteeship Council, M. Pierre Ryckmans, Belgium's permanent delegate said that Belgium was not in Ruanda-Urundi to draw any profit from it. "The circumstances are such that, unless unforeseen and improbable ores were discovered, there will never be any hope of making substantial profits, even if that were our objective." (The Belgian Congo Today, April, 1956.)

# COLONIAL AND COMMONWEALTH MATTERS

### "Iron Curtain of White Supremacy"

THE Rt. Reverend Cuthbert Bardsley in a sermon at Croydon (where he had been Bishop) before he left for Coventry where

he was recently appointed Bishop, said that the "iron curtain of White supremacy" was worse than Soviet Russia's iron curtain. "If we do not for ever remove the scourge of war, mankind will destroy itself. To our age may come the opportunity to remove the iron curtain of White Supremacy, race discrimination, and Colour Bar restriction. If we do not, some may live to see a racial conflict that will make every other war seem like a childish squabble in a nursery by comparison". (The Windhoek Advertiser, April 9, 1956.)

### British Investment in Central Africa

Sir Ernest Goodale, Chairman of the British Industries Fair, addressing the Rhodesia National Affairs Association in Salisbury, said that Britain's investment in the Central African Federation was higher than that in any other Commonwealth country, and would considerably exceed £14½ million, the figure reached in 1953, this year. Total British investment in Commonwealth countries, not including the vast sums invested by private British interests, amounted to £41½ million. (Commonwealth News Agency, April 11, 1956.)

### Colonial Development Corporation Profit

The Colonial Development Corporation made a net profit of £409,000 in 1955. This compares with losses of £511,000 in 1954, £1·3 million in 1953 and £4·8 million in 1952. The Corporation's annual report denies the suggestion that there has been little new development in recent years because of preoccupation with clearing up the past. Money actually spent in 1955 on development was £8 million, in 1954 £4·5 million, in 1953 £7 million and in 1952 £8 million. The report comments: "Regional summaries and individual reports show that the work is going well and expanding; 1956 figures so far confirm the trend . . . 1955 saw an effective end to the redressing-up process: what remains is by and large a commercial risk—or rather a calculated risk: good management with reasonable luck should pull most of the doubtful ones through, but some failures are inevitable". (Manchester Guardian, April 26, 1956.)

Commenting on the report, *The Times* said: "For five years past, Government and Parliament have merely had to watch the efforts of Lord Reith and his Board to clear up the debris of the past and hope that those efforts would be reasonably successful—as they have now proved to be. But now that the corporation has scraped off the barnacles and is ready to set sail again, more positive thinking will be required and in some matters definite decisions will have to be taken." (April 26, 1956.)

### "Bad Business"

In a letter to *The Times*, Sir Eldred Hitchcock, writing from Tanganyika said: "The British colonies provide a very large proportion of the dollar and sterling earning power of the sterling area. By exchange and other regulations a large part of their purchases are canalized into United Kingdom trade. There has been a considerable sentiment in favour of trade with Britain. We must, I think, now recognize that the sentiment is breaking down owing to plain business reasons, quite apart from the uprising surge of nationalism which is sweeping the colonial world . . . It is still the exception to be able to secure either a firm price or a dependable delivery date for British manufacture.

Prices are quoted subject to unascertained cost increases, such as wages, transport and freight charges etc. Other countries are now in the field as effective competitors, and their prices and delivery dates are firm; moreover their prices over an increasing range of goods are lower, and their produce too often superior and better adapted to these markets which they have thoroughly investigated."

Sir Eldred said "the conclusion that business with Britain is too often bad business for the Colonies constitutes a warning of which the British public need to take very serious account."

Writing on the same theme from Lagos, Nigeria, Mr. M. R. Redfern said: "Nigeria is probably one of the most versatile yet discriminating markets in the world, and the 'White man's grave' is now a thriving and fast developing land with a trade balance which Britain might envy. While the Continent, particularly Germany, and, of course, Japan, send us a plethora of goods, some United Kingdom suppliers . . . remain obsessed with the home market. This vast country of traders is still relatively untapped by British manufacturers, and it is apparent that the African is now being transported by Opel and Volkswagen cars, his roads cleared by United States tractors and equipment, and his public buildings supported by Belgian and German steel. Japan and Hongkong clothe him and provide multifarious utensils". (*The Times*, April 17, 1956.)

### Need for Adaptability

Mr. John Hare, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, addressing the annual conference of the Conservative Commonwealth Council said that a new feature affecting British and all external investment in areas like Nigeria and the Gold Coast was the increasing extent to which local governments were involving themselves in the direct promotion of industry, mining etc. This meant that the form of investment might have to change, and that British firms would have to adapt themselves to the new situation. Two methods were already being used; first, the joint enterprise, for instance the Enugu Cement Company in Eastern Nigeria and the Kaduna Cotton Mill in Northern Nigeria, in both of which British firms were participating jointly with the local government; secondly, there was the system by which an external firm became the managing agent, providing management and technical know-how, for the local government which supplied the capital. This system would be used in running a factory for the production of pharmaceutical products in Eastern Nigeria. There were likely to be many opportunities for United Kingdom investment in these countries, but investors would have to adapt themselves to changing circumstances as well as to meet the competition of German and eventual local enterprise.

The changes that the impact of Western civilization had brought about in those territories had certainly called for great adaptability on the part of the inhabitants themselves, and occasionally this had been a challenge which they had failed to meet. The Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya, with its startling reversion to barbarism, was the worst example of this. "However that may be, we in this country must not fail the Colonial peoples because we lack the imagination and the flexibility to co-operate with them in the process of growing up," said Mr. Hare. "They are facing us with new problems. We must reply with new solutions." (*Commonwealth News Agency*, May 2, 1956.)

### African Students in Britain and East Africa

In the House of Commons, in reply to a question from Mr. James Johnson (Labour), the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, said: "In the 1955-56 session there are sixteen Africans from Tanganyika, 155 from Uganda and fifty-nine from Kenya studying in the United Kingdom; and 151, 148 and 163 respectively at Makerere College. In the new academic year which will begin at Makerere under revised arrangements in July, there are expected to be 167 from Tanganyika, 208 from Uganda and 211 from Kenya." With regard to the number of African students in Tanganyika who have passed the Cambridge School Certificate examination in 1955, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said: "One hundred and forty-two passed the examination. Of these thirty-seven have been offered vacancies at the University College of Makerere and fifteen are expected to enter the Royal Technical College at Nairobi. Seven are continuing their theological training." (*Hansard*, March 21, 1956.)

### Capricorn Reaches its Climax

Colonel David Stirling, president of the Capricorn Africa Society, in an article in the *Rhodesia Herald* (March 21, 1956) said that the publication later this year of the Capricorn Citizenship Document would mark the climax of the first seven years' work of the society. It would be the product of over forty Capricorn committees, comprising men and women of all races, operating throughout the territories from Kenya south to the Rhodesias. It would take the form of a Contract between the Africans, Europeans and Asians. Essentially this Contract "aims at creating a state of security for all races in which it will be constitutionally impossible for any one race to advance its own interests at the expense of another race." In the words of the current draft of the Contract document, "we are determined to establish a society free from all racial discrimination, capable of enriching itself from the cultural heritages of all the races which compose it and of asserting constitutional rules and regulations under the disciplines of which, for the sake of this generation and generations to come, we are prepared to live."

"Perhaps the crux of the Capricorn proposition lies in our electoral system proposals. The Society believes in a common roll based on a high franchise and on a multiple vote. We do not believe in universal adult franchise."

In a subsequent statement, Colonel Stirling said that if the existing political parties would not take over the draft Contract, members of the society would form their own political party. But he hoped that within three years there would be active political parties with representation in at least two countries' legislatures advocating the terms of the Contract. The Capricorn Africa Society could not itself be a political party or use its funds for a political party. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 10, 1956.)

The *Spectator* (March 23, 1956) commented: "What alternative is there . . . to the planned and orderly abolition of racial discrimination and, following closely upon the raising of African standards, the controlled extension of the franchise? The White minorities in the territories from Kenya to Southern Rhodesia certainly will not throw in their hand, as some of our hysterical 'liberals' would have them do forthwith. Nor can

they, without ensuring ultimate disaster, impose such 'solutions' as *apartheid*. The multi-racial state, in which a planned diminution of White political supremacy can take place, is the only answer which reason provides. This in the long run is the last chance for Europeans, and for order, in Africa. The Capricorn Africa Society has been most active in pointing the way, and the convention to be held later in the year may prove to be a turning-point."

Lord Lucan, writing in *Venture* (February, 1956) described Capricorn Africa as "a bold conception, founded on admirable principles, and its broad aims are unexceptionable . . . The Society deserves great credit for putting in the forefront of its programme the outlawing of racial discrimination. Of the sincerity of the founders of the Society there can be no doubt." He added: "The belief that a spiritual conversion can so grip an entire community as to change their outlook on life and its problems is strongly reminiscent of that other contemporary movement—Moral Re-Armament. The two have at least this in common, that they base themselves on the assumption that all conflicts of interest—political, racial or industrial—can be dissipated by a change of heart. It is legitimate to ask whether that is a sound assumption on which to base a political philosophy."

Lord Lucan pointed out that in earlier publications of the Society the names of prominent Africans had been quoted as its supporters but that recently some of them had been reported as not being in sympathy and, in fact, most of the leaders of more active African political movements seemed to be holding aloof from the Society. The reason became obvious, he added, when the programme was examined closely.

"For all the excellent intentions of the founders, it is impossible to see how the proposed constitution would open the way to the transference of power from the European minority, or guarantee to Africans an adequate share in the political life of their respective countries. The qualification for the franchise is to be set deliberately at a high level—exactly how high a level, and how generous the 'special exemptions' for non-Europeans, we shall not know until the citizenship document has been completed and ratified. The multiple vote is likely to benefit Europeans more than the other races, particularly in Southern Rhodesia. Even in the citizenship committees and other organs of the Society, the European influence is likely to predominate in spite of their multi-racial composition. Citizenship is not to be extended to Africans living in the reserves, who will be classed as 'protected persons' and will have representation on communal lines . . .

"Another feature which is bound to arouse doubts is the prominence given to the maintenance of 'the moral, cultural and spiritual standards of civilization.' Half a century ago Cecil Rhodes preached the doctrine of 'equal rights for all civilized men—but who decides what is a civilized man? The phrase has been used ever since to justify the Southern Rhodesian native policy.

"In the short term, however, it is the effect of the present campaign on existing African political movements that matters. If the Capricorn campaign is successful in gaining support among the leaders (and of this there is no sign), it will divert their attention from the pursuit of increased political power for Africans into channels which can only lead to frustration. If, on the other hand, the campaign fails, through suspicion of the motives of the promoters, it will worsen race relations."

# AMERICA & AFRICA

## Comments by Mr. Dulles on Soviet Ambitions

LONDON's *The Times* (May 11, 1956) reported that during the N.A.T.O. meeting in Paris Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, is believed to have pointed out that there were now some 600 million people in the free world, about 800 million in the Communist world, and about 1,200 million in the uncommitted world. He emphasized the very heavy odds against the free world if the Communists succeeded in winning over the uncommitted 1,200 million. This certainly has not escaped the Soviet Leaders.

There is increasing evidence that the Soviet Government intends to follow up its drive in the Middle East with a concerted plan to expand Communist influence in Africa also. First steps, such as have been taken when the Soviet Government was preparing an offensive elsewhere, can already be noted, and an effort to obtain an expert knowledge of the continent, its people, and languages is being made. An increasing interest is being taken in colonial and African affairs by all the international front organizations run by Communists.

## Assistant Secretary of State's Comments

Mr. George Allen, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs, who was paying a brief visit to South Africa, said on arrival that emergent African states would probably enjoy the benefits of American economic co-operation, as had other countries, and forecast that American investments would triple in Africa and would steadily increase in South Africa during the next ten to fifteen years.

Discussing African and Russian aims, Mr. Allen discounted the possibility of any military attack by Russia, but said that the African continent loomed large in the desire of Russia to increase her influence throughout the world.

Although he had heard that India had her eyes on Africa, he had found, while in India recently, no overt manifestation of political ambition towards Africa. (*The Times*, May 15, 1956.)

Before leaving for Africa, Mr. Allen had praised Britain's policy in helping the countries of Africa towards independence and said: "All the so-called colonial powers represented on the continent of Africa are our friends and allies in the world-wide contest between the free and Communist worlds. Relationships established by them with countries in Africa date from an era when the concepts of international relations were different. No one but a demagogue would deny that basic advantages were brought to the African territories by this process of opening wider horizons, and that in fact the impetus toward modern nationhood grew out of these contacts with Western civilization. Furthermore, in the course of this relationship between the metropolitan powers and the African territories, there grew up interlocking economic relations, the violent disruption of which would seriously weaken our European allies. Similarly, a sudden break of these life-lines would create conditions of political and economic instability most harmful to our African friends. It is more largely a question of transforming this relationship into a co-operative endeavour by which the newly emerging States in Africa achieve and maintain their national

self-respect and apply in their own way the benefits of their national resources.

He pointed out that there was evidence of Communist activity in Africa and that a strong and friendly Africa was extremely important to United States security. In the light of experience which the United States was undergoing domestically in developing harmonious race relations, it behoved them to approach the problem of race elsewhere in the world with humility. The question of relations between peoples of different races living together in multi-racial States involved deep-seated emotions and prejudices which could only be overcome gradually.

*The Times* commented that this speech of Mr. Allen's was part of an attempt to explore how American policy could be reshaped to meet the challenge of the new Soviet foreign policy, and "went farther than is usual among Americans in declaring that their traditional anti-colonial bias has little relevance to present conditions . . . In singling out Soviet overtures to Libya, Ethiopia and Liberia, he was pointing to a real danger that threatens Africa once colonial power is withdrawn. The Communists have made little progress in Africa. This is certainly not for want of trying. The present leaders of African nationalism, at any rate in the British territories, are not Communist-inclined.

"The situation, however, will change radically when a substantial proportion of African colonies do in fact become self-governing. It is possible to look forward to a time in the near future, perhaps in under five years, when practically the whole shoulder of West Africa will constitute a free, neutral and uncommitted area. When that happens all kinds of stresses and strains will develop which are not visible now. There will be the need for opposition leaders to seek followings by adopting policies of the extreme left. Regional rifts, such as those already becoming apparent in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, may become more pronounced and will certainly offer opportunities for mischief-makers.

"There will be the temptation, also, to mobilize West African opinion against the policies of the Union Government in the South if they remain as they are now. All this would be fertile ground for Communist intervention of the kind that is being tried in the Middle East now.

"For these reasons Britain needs all the support she deserves from the United States in giving these territories the best possible chance of achieving their self-government in a deliberate, orderly, and planned manner. Nothing would be more certain to plunge the whole area into chaos, and make it an easy prey to Communist domination, than a precipitate withdrawal hastened by external political pressure, rather than by calculated judgement of the potentialities of the situation on the spot." (April 29, 1956.)

## INDIA & AFRICA

### Mr. Nehru's Comments on the Gold Coast

THE Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, said in the Indian Parliament that what was happening in the Gold Coast was "one of the promising features in the African situation today."

He added: "It is something not only of hope for the Gold Coast, but for the whole of Africa. What will happen ultimately I do not know, but we should welcome these things in this distracted and distressed world wherever a good step is taken." (*India News*,<sup>1</sup> March 4, 1956.)

### Mr. Apa Pant's Broadcast on Africa

In a broadcast over All India Radio, Mr. Apa B. Pant, former Indian Commissioner in East and Central Africa, said: "The African today is first of all bewildered, then frustrated, and then angry to find himself a nobody in the social pattern of existence that has been built up around him, as it were, overnight.

"It has been often said that the African would take hundreds of years to learn modern values of life and to acquire the capacity to live in an industrial society. It is also stated that till he becomes capable enough to discharge his duties he cannot be given responsibilities or privileges that the more civilized citizens of the same society enjoy.

"It is forgotten, however, that in the life of the tribe the African had his privileges, his place of honour. If his society is now broken down, it is inconceivable that he should live without any privileges or securities in the new society.

"It is also a fact, and a very disturbing one, that though this process of destruction of the tribal system is going apace, adequate facilities either do not exist for the African to train himself rapidly enough to live and discharge his duties in a modern society or that such facilities are deliberately denied to him.

"I have seen in no parts of the world such craving for education, such restlessness to acquire knowledge and get on with life as I have seen in the bush and in the jungles of Africa.

"In many parts of Africa facilities for education just do not exist; in other parts it is just too costly for a small administrative set-up to find the money for them.

"In any case the whole process of training the African is too slow as compared with the tempo of the economic and industrial development that is disturbing the tribal African life. As long as this problem of giving training for the African to live in a modern society does not become the main problem exercising the minds of those who are responsible for the development of Africa, it is inconceivable that there would be a process of peaceful progress on that continent.

"Wherever in Africa, such as in some measure in West Africa, in the Congo, in Uganda, in Tanganyika, the governments concerned are consciously helping the African to become a responsible citizen, responsible for his future destiny, the rate of progress is fast and peaceful. Where, on the other hand, there is a deliberate attempt made to keep the African back, and even to retard his progress, racial tensions increase and there is anger, hate and misery.

"We can see thus, in Africa, two processes taking shape side by side. One is the process of disintegration of the tribal society, and the second process is that which is turning primitive, feudal tribal Africa into modern, machine-bound, centralized societies. It is conceivable that the process of rapid de-tribalization would slow itself down." (*India News*,<sup>2</sup> January 1, 1956.)

### Goodwill Delegation from Uganda

Dr. E. M. K. Muwazi, Secretary-General of the Uganda

<sup>1</sup>Published weekly by the Information Services of India, Office of the Commissioner for India in the Gold Coast and Nigeria.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

African National Congress, led the goodwill delegation which was invited to India by the Indian Council of Cultural Relations. The delegation met the Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, and Ministers, and visited Delhi University and its Department of African Studies. Dr. Muwazi said he was happy to find that informal relations existed between the teacher and taught at the University. The remarkable thing, he said, was that Indian students freely mixed with African students and that there were no barriers between Indian and foreign students.

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